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TRAVELS

IN

NORTH INDIA:

CONTAINING

NOTICES OF THE HINDUS; JOURNALS OF A VOYAGE ON THE GANGES AND A TOUR TO LAHOR; NOTES ON THE HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS AND THE HILL TRIBES.

INCLUDING A SKETCH OF

MISSIONARY UNDERTAKINGS.

BY THE

REV. JOHN C. LOWRIE,

Assistant Secretary Board Foreign Missions Presbyterian Church.

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CONTENTS.

Page

PREFACE, ... 5

CHAPTER I.—VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA.—Parting with Friends —The Voyage a Sabbath—Madeira; Romanist Religion—Winds and Weather; Storm off the Cape—Sand Heads; Sagor; Natives—Scenery on the Hoogley—Reach Calcutta, 9

CHAPTER II.—INDIA AND THE HINDUS.—Extent of the Country—Soil and Productions—Population—Appearance of the People—Houses—Civilization—Caste, . . . 19

CHAPTER III.—THE HINDUS, CONTINUED.—Poverty of the People—Literature—Religion, ... 28

CHAPTER IV.—CHOICE OF A MISSIONARY FIELD.—North-Western Provinces—Educational Movement—Authorities friendly—Arrival timely—Missionary co-operation, 40

CHAPTER V.—EVENTS AT CALCUTTA.—Death of Mrs. Lowrie—Remain at Calcutta till the Rainy Season—Study of the Language—Missionary Policy—Mr. Reed's Illness and Return, ... 49

CHAPTER VI.—VOYAGE ON THE GANGES.—Native Boats—Serampore—Dangers of "Tracking"—Numerous Towns—Boat wrecked—Berhampore—Moorshedabad, . 61

CHAPTER VII.—VOYAGE ON THE GANGES, CONTINUED.—The Great Ganges—Rajmahal Hills—Mussulmans and Hindus compared—Anecdote of Caste—Danger from a gale—Bhagalpur—Spirit of Lying—Native Boatmen—Monghir—Patna—Dinapore, ... 79

CHAPTER VIII.—VOYAGE ON THE GANGES; JOURNEY TO LODIANA.—Rivers and Towns—Attar of Roses—Danger from Falling Banks—Benares—Allahabad; Example of Fatal Superstition—Review of the River Journey—Dâk Travelling—Agra—Delhi—Arrive at Lodiana, . . 97

CHAPTER IX.—AT LODIANA.—Lodiana—Sickness—English Preaching—Importance of Schools—English School, . 115

CHAPTER X.—Tour to Lahor.—Information desired—Invitation from Ranjit Singh—Manner of Travelling—Appearance of the Country—Paghwarah—Dancing Girls—Villages—Cities—Interview with a Native Chief—River Bias—Cashmerian Emigrants—Sacred Reservoir at Amritsir—Visit of a Native Chief, ... 126

CHAPTER XI.—Tour to Lahor; Ranjit Singh.—Reach Lahor—Visits of two Fakir Courtiers—Interview with the King—Conversations with the Fakirs—Invitation to see Dancing Girls declined—Mussulman Version of David's Repentance—Appearance of Lahor—An armed Maulavi, 145

CHAPTER XII.—Ranjit Singh's Hunting Excursion; Notes on the Panjab and the Sikhs.—Leave Lahor for the Hunting Ground—Hunting Company—Manner of despatching Business at Court—Dismission granted—Notes on the Panjáb and the Sikhs, ... 161

CHAPTER XIII.—Lodiana to Simla; the Hill Tribes.—Arrival of the Rev. Messrs. Wilson and Newton at Calcutta—Leave Lodiana for Simla—English Society—Notes on the Protected Hill States—Face of the Country—Snowy Mountains—Productions, Animals, Climate—Population, Agriculture—Religion, Language—Character of the People—Valley of Kanaur, ... 177

CHAPTER XIV.—Lodiana to New York.—Meeting with Messrs. Wilson and Newton—English School at Lodiana—Mission Station at Sabathu—Other places—Station at Lodiana—Leave Lodiana—Meeting at Calcutta with the Third Company of Missionaries—Reach New York, . . 204

CHAPTER XV.—A Sketch of the History of the Missions. — Lodiana— Sabathu—Saharunpur—Allahabad—Futtehgurh—Presbyteries formed—Summary View, . 213

CHAPTER XVI.—General Considerations.—The North-Western Provinces not occupied with Missionary Institutions—Urgent Wants of Adult Heathens—Encouragement of Christian Efforts—India open for Missionary Labour—An Interior Movement now in progress—The Hindus in a Transition State; Shall they become Infidels or Christians?—Religious Movements *en masse*—The kind of Men needed as Missionaries, ... 225

APPENDICES.

Appendix I.—On the Condition of the Heathen, . . 237
Appendix II.—On the Relation of American Missionaries to Europeans in India, ... 244
Appendix III.—The Success of the Missionary Enterprise, 247

PREFACE.

India, the land of the Hindus, is far too little known in this country. It is a distant part of the earth, and the claims of business lead but few of our citizens to its shores. The tour of pleasure, and even the route of the curious traveller, do not often extend to the regions of the far east. Its singular people are known to us chiefly by an ill-defined and almost romantic report. And yet it has many and strong claims on our attention. Its rivers are as mighty as our own, its broad plains, watered by the Ganges and its tributaries, are not less fertile and only less extensive than the great valley of the west, and its mountains are the noblest on the earth. Its inhabitants are a distinct family of the human race, having a civilization, a literature, and unhappily a religion of their own; and a

history whose earliest memorials are veiled in obscurity, and whose after records bring to our view such phases of human society as cannot elsewhere be seen, while its course in our own times is worthy of the deepest study both of the statesman and the Christian.

The writer of the following pages has not attempted to give a complete account of Hindu institutions, social, civil, or religious; nor of their manners, usages or employments. Nor has he at all undertaken the history of this ancient people. Let those who would read the latter, or understand the former, consult the works of Sir W. Jones, Colebrooke, Malcom, and particularly Mill, Ward, and Elphinstone—not to mention many others. The author's only aim in his "Notices" has been to present such views of the Indians, as shall perhaps bring them fairly before the reader's eye. In these as in all the parts of his work, he is sensible of many imperfections, to be attributed chiefly to his want of

the requisite ability to do justice to the subjects under review, but partly also to the cares of his station, which leave but little time for other duties; yet he ventures to hope that the outline account which this book contains of persons, places and things in India, will excite a desire to become better acquainted with the Hindus, and lead to a deeper concern for their welfare.

The Journals, &c. have already appeared in print, but are not now accessible. As to the contents of this volume, it will be found that they are mainly of a general character, and it is believed that what is necessarily of more limited interest has yet been written in a catholic spirit. The account of the missionary undertakings of one branch of the Church of Christ is commended to the kind approval of the members of her communion. The writer shall ever consider it his sacred privilege to have spent the earliest years of his ministry in her foreign service.

He feels himself much favoured in having

his humble work published under its present auspices; but it may therefore be proper to state, which he does cheerfully and at his own instance, that in a review of so many and varied subjects, he cannot hope for a perfect agreement with himself in all the opinions which are set forth in this book. For whatever of error may have unawares crept into its pages, the author alone is responsible. J. C. L.

New York, *January*, 1842.

TRAVELS IN NORTH INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA.

Parting with friends—The voyage a Sabbath—Madeira; beautiful sight; Romanist religion—Winds and weather; storm off the Cape—Sand Heads; Sagor; Natives—Scenery on the Hoogley—Reach Calcutta.

On Wednesday, the 29th of May, 1833, we left Philadelphia to join the ship Star, lying in the Delaware near New Castle, bound to Calcutta. Our company consisted of the Rev. William Reed, myself, and our wives. A few near relatives and friends went with us to New Castle, to see us embark. The afternoon was dark and rainy; but if we had been superstitiously inclined, we could not long have indulged evil forebodings, for before sunset the heavy clouds of the western sky parted, and the sun shone out clearly, making a splendid rainbow to appear in the departing showers—a bright omen, we trusted, that God, who is ever faithful to his promise, would graciously vouchsafe to us his protection. Early next morning we went on board.

I do not propose to give a minute sketch of the

incidents of our way, and I therefore forbear attempting to describe our last parting, as we supposed, and as it proved to some of our number, with the friends who had accompanied us. When we looked on a father, a brother, and other friends, going from our vessel in their little boat to the shore, and saw their faces not less pale than our own with deep emotion, we could hardly believe that the hour of parting at death itself would be more trying. These separations can be fully understood only by those who have met with them. They awaken feelings of the most intense suffering, and I advert to them in order to note them as peculiar to the missionary and his friends. Other men, and women too, having friends as numerous and as beloved, and with affections not less tender, go abroad for business or for pleasure; but they all intend to return, and they hope afterwards to find their home and their friends dearer than ever. From some countries the missionary might return home occasionally, though in most cases he would thereby consult the feelings of his friends, more than his own usefulness. But from places east of the Cape of Good Hope, the time requisite for a visit home, not to speak of the expense, makes such a visit in common cases altogether inexpedient. After learning the language of the natives perfectly, the duties of a missionary are far too weighty, and too incapable of being transferred to others, even were there others to take charge of them, to permit him to leave his post. And much more do these reasons prohibit the return of a missionary to spend the evening of life in his own country, unless he have become incapable of useful labour, counsel, or influence. The longer he lives among the heathen, if he have been discreet and

faithful, the greater will be his influence over them, and the stronger, therefore, the reasons for his remaining abroad. Nor will he desire to return, for his heart will then have become completely engaged in his work, new habits and trains of thought will have been formed, and he would almost feel himself a stranger in his early home. But while all this is true, the missionary, on leaving his friends at first, has not learnt to control his feelings by considerations so remote, and he is obliged to support himself by the higher and better principle of faith, the faith which is "the substance of things hoped for," and by which Abraham "went out, not knowing whither he went."

Our voyage was not marked by any occurrence of special interest. Vessels in the East India trade commonly carry out little freight, and though seldom fitted for passengers, yet, having plenty of room, and being well found, they afford comfortable accommodations. The length of the voyage depends on the time of year, speed of the ship, and other common contingencies; four months may be stated as an average time of making the passage. In so long a voyage the time often passes tediously, and many persons give way to indolent habits and to impatience, if not to worse traits of temper; but if the weather permits, as during much of the way it will, the passenger has much time for reading and writing, and the missionary will endeavour to improve this long season of leisure as a Sabbath, invaluable for its rest from the excitement and distraction of leaving home, and not less to be prized as a time of thoughtful preparation for the new course of life, on whose active duties he is soon to enter. With a few chosen books at hand, much time for reflection and devotional duties, and

frequent conversations with his companions, it will be greatly his own fault if the voyage do not prove one of the best spent periods of his life. So we trust it was to us. Sea-sickness, the most disagreeable of all complaints, was in due time succeeded by capital health, excepting to one of our number, whose hope of restored health seemed to depend on her living in a milder climate. We all enjoyed good spirits, and were able to make a good use of much of our time.

Departing from the usual route, we reached the island of Madeira on the 24th of June. We made the island on Sunday, and were becalmed within a few miles of the shore, the winds having agreed to keep the Sabbath, as one of the ladies remarked, and we were thus spared the confusion of going into port on that holy day. Seldom had we seen a more beautiful sight, than when looking from the decks of our ship at the side of the green mountain island opposite to us. The summits were lost in the clouds, but the lower parts of the island were covered with terraced vineyards, and dotted over with cottages that seemed the abodes of innocence and contentment. That Sunday happened to be one of the chief Romanist festivals, and in the evening the cottages were lighted up in a thousand places, and the churches were completely brilliant in the general illumination. A magic scene appeared to have been spread before us, filled with the beauty of nature in her fairest dress by day-light, and changed at even-tide into the splendour of another world.

We spent three weeks very pleasantly at a quinta, or country-seat, of an English merchant, just above Funchal, the chief town, while our ship was discharging and receiving freight. During this

time we were often reminded by the ignorance and poverty of the people, the absence of enterprize, the crowds of beggars, the numbers of churches with no sermons preached in them, the multitudes of priests in their peculiar garb, that the dark pall of the Roman religion was spread over the island. If an American would know what the legitimate influence of that religion really is, let him visit a country where it prevails without a rival, where its character is neither elevated nor modified by the presence of purer forms of Christianity, where Romanism, with its monks, and nuns, and many ringing bells, and innumerable outward solemnities, has banished the free and pure religion of the heart and its thousand temporal benefits.

Leaving Madeira on the 13th of July, we took the north-east trade winds shortly afterwards, and soon got down towards the equator, where the patience of the sailors, and passengers too, was tried with light and variable winds, calms, and little progress. After entering the south-east trade winds on the other side of the line, we had again delightful sailing. These trade winds are supposed to be caused by the colder air of the higher latitudes, which rushes down to supply the place of the air that, becoming heated and expanded, then ascends from the latitudes near the equator. Blowing steadily from one quarter, always strong enough to carry us from seven to ten miles an hour, almost without a sail having to be changed, and being of a pleasant temperature, it is not strange that these winds should be so eagerly desired by sailors. In a few weeks we had run over several thousand miles, the dashing foam from the sides of our ship being like music to our ears. Now was the time for the men to overhaul the sails and rigging of the

ship, and to prepare for rougher weather. On Sundays, our public worship, always performed through the kindness of captain Griffin, when the weather permitted, could now be conducted with a composure hardly less than if we had been in church at home.

Our Sabbath services were well attended, and a Bible class lesson before the mast on Sunday afternoons seemed to interest the men. What results may have followed our ministrations, the great day must disclose. We could not but feel convinced that religious services on board ship are commonly undertaken at a great disadvantage. The sailors are divided into two companies, called the larboard and starboard watches, and have four hour turns of duty at night, and four and two hour turns in the day-time, requiring therefore much of the day to make up the loss of sleep at night, and having always plenty of work when awake, so that they have little leisure for receiving instruction. It must be added, that too commonly they have but little inclination to attend to religious things. But when the officers of a ship will permit efforts to be made for their benefit, and permission should always be respectfully and discreetly asked, and prudently used when granted, then should missionaries be willing gladly to avail themselves of the opportunity of giving religious instruction to those who so greatly need it. Repeated instances have been known in which such endeavours, faithfully and wisely made, have been attended with the greatest encouragement.

Our own party had morning and evening prayers in the captain's cabin, attended usually by the officers, and a weekly service amongst ourselves for the study of the Scriptures. The greater part

of the book of Acts was thus brought under review, with particular reference to its missionary instruction. And these times of social religious duty we found to be peculiarly pleasant and valuable.

Our fine trade winds at length failed us, and after a while we got to the latitude of the Cape. For several weeks we were making our "easting," that is, sailing eastward, in a direct course, as the degrees of longitude there are short. We were now in the midst of the southern winter; the weather was cold, damp, and most uncomfortable; the wind often very high, and the sea rough and tempestuous. We could read but little, and that with no satisfaction. Returning sea-sickness, occasionally, made our situation the more disagreeable. Several heavy gales came on, one of which was the strongest the captain had seen for many years. It continued for three days, and those were days of intense anxiety. It was considered extremely uncertain whether we should be able to resist the violence of the gale, and we endeavoured to prepare our minds for the worst. Blessed be God, our minds were kept in peace, but it was distressing to witness the anxiety that prevailed amongst some of our ship's company. By the good hand of God upon us, however, we were kept from harm and brought out of all our distresses, and with thankful hearts we endeavoured to consecrate ourselves anew to the service of Him whose protection we had so manifestly enjoyed. The weather became more pleasant soon after our course was directed to the north. Passing rapidly through the trade winds again, we found the eastern seas, near and under the equator, as hard to cross as the Atlantic, on account of light, baffling winds, and frequent calms. The rest of the voyage was up the

Bay of Bengal, consuming nearly a month, as the winds were now unfavourable. On the 11th of October, we descried the pilot vessel, anchored always off the Sand Heads, far out of sight of land, and in a few hours we took a pilot on board. In a short time we succeeded in beating through the dangerous channels at the mouth of the Hoogley, and before night we cast anchor in the waters of that river, the most sacred outlet of the Ganges.

We were now near the island of Sagor; which Hamilton described in 1828, as "a celebrated place of pilgrimage among the Hindus, on account of the great sanctity arising from its situation at the junction of the holiest branch of the Ganges with the ocean. Many sacrifices are in consequence here annually performed, of aged persons of both sexes, which are voluntary, and of children, which of course are involuntary, the periods fixed for their celebration being the full moon in November and January." This horrible custom was soon afterwards suppressed by the British. The island is but partially cultivated and inhabited.

The anchor was hardly down before two or three boat loads of native fishermen climbed up over the bulwarks of the Star, and we had the offer of their marketing and their services to aid in getting up the river, with such a chattering of their almost inarticulate words as seemed not unlike the speech of a troop of monkeys. They were of small, light, and active frame, dark complexion, agreeable and lively expression, but with no appearance of intelligence, and evidently very poor. Their coming on board was a common thing to our officers and other passengers, who had made several visits to Calcutta, but to us they were objects of extreme interest. These were the people whom

we had come to make acquainted with the true God and eternal life. But how hard to believe that such poor, almost naked, miserable looking beings should ever become intelligent and refined Christians! Again, as often before and oftener since, we had to rely on the revealed promise of God, and the assurance of his power and infinite mercy.

When we were opposite Kedgeree, an English station about one hundred miles below Calcutta, where letters by ship are received and forwarded, we despatched some of our letters to Calcutta, with a request that a boat might be sent down for us, as it was very desirable that my wife, whose health, feeble when she left, had become greatly impaired, should escape from the noise of working the ship by frequent tacking up the narrow channel of the river. Vessels going to Calcutta during the cold season are often a week in getting up the river, and they are as long in coming down during the rainy season, and *vice versa*.

On the second day we had the pleasure of meeting the Rev. G. Pearce, a Baptist missionary, whom we soon became much attached to, who had kindly come down in a small boat to receive us and accompany us up the river. We left the Star in the afternoon with every feeling of gratitude to our kind Captain and to Dr. Huffnagle, the surgeon, for their constant and valuable attention to our comfort, and of kind regard for the other passengers, but with no regret at making our escape from the confinement and the now almost intolerable noise of the vessel. Our boatmen pulled along cheerily with the rapid tide, and when the tide turned, they dropped their anchor, which was but a basket with stones in it, and wrapping themselves

each one in a long sheet of coarse muslin, they were soon fast asleep. Before morning we were again under weigh, and when the day broke we were but a few miles from Garden Reach, below Calcutta.

Our boat people kept close to the shore, and the banks were so low that we could easily see some distance in the country back from the river. The little groupes of cottages were planted thickly under the cocoa, palm, and other trees, which to us were as strange as they were beautiful. They were of the greenest foliage, with fragrant creeping plants climbing through their branches, and many of them were laden with fruit, and shining with brilliant flowers. Strange birds were flying from tree to tree, and the people were beginning their daily labours—men going to the fields, or casting their nets, and women coming to the river, filling their earthen water vessels, placing them on their heads, and returning to their homes. The whole was a beautiful scene, novel in the highest degree, almost like a picture of some fancy-land, and yet full of life and freshness. And when the air came laded and fragrant with the scent of the earth and its rich vegetation, so different from the close smell of a ship four months at sea, it was in the highest degree reviving and exhilarating. My poor wife, ever passionately fond of country scenes, but now too enfeebled to bear excitement with safety, was quite overcome before we reached the end of our sail. Passing the stately European mansions on Garden Reach, and the Company's Botanical garden, and Bishop's College on the opposite side of the river, we were soon in the midst of increasing multitudes of boats, and the hum of many sounds, until presently we swept under the walls of Fort

William and were in full view of Government House. Landing at one of the *ghats* or stairs, we were soon received with the greatest kindness by the Rev. W. H. Pearce and his estimable wife. In a few days we were joined by our missionary companions, who came up with the ship, and we took pleasure in praising the Lord for his goodness in bringing us to our desired haven.

CHAPTER II.

INDIA AND THE HINDUS.

Extent of the country, soil, and productions—Population—Appearance of the people—Houses—Civilization—Caste.

We had been instructed by the society* to make inquiries on arriving at Calcutta, as to the most eligible sphere of missionary labour. The Upper Provinces of India, it was supposed, might be such a sphere, but we were at liberty to choose any other part of the country that should appear more inviting. We at once proceeded to fulfil this part of our commission. Having previously examined various works treating of India, our aim now was to obtain information partly by observing ourselves the state of things, but chiefly from inter-

* The Western Foreign Missionary Society. This society was afterwards merged in the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. For an account of these institutions, see a volume by the Rev. Dr. Green, called Pesbyterian Missions, published at Philadelphia in 1838.

course with intelligent gentlemen who had long resided in the country. And we were peculiarly favoured in meeting with several Christian friends, who had extensive and accurate information at command, the results of many years' observation, and who had also every disposition to promote our views. I may mention particularly our kind host, the Rev. W. H. Pearce, who has since entered into his rest, a devoted Baptist missionary, and one of the best men I have ever known, long the efficient superintendent of the most extensive printing establishment in India; the Rev. Dr. Marshman, venerable for many years of missionary life, as well as for most extensive knowledge and unquestioned talent; the Rev. M. Winslow, our respected countryman, of the Ceylon mission, then at Calcutta waiting for a passage home for his health; the Rev. Dr. Duff, the able and eloquent Scotch missionary; and C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., one of the Secretaries in the Political Department of the Supreme Government. The information we received from these two last named gentlemen, was highly valuable; the former had been making special inquiries concerning the part of the country which we had more particularly in view, and the latter had himself resided for a number of years in the Upper Provinces, and being a man of acknowledged talent and liberal views, and moreover able to appreciate the missionary movements of the Church of Christ, his information was extremely useful to us.

Before giving an account of the considerations which induced our final decision, it may not be out of place to give some general notices of the country and people, which may aid the reader to understand the importance of our mission. I ought, however, in fairness to mention that none

of the gentlemen, whose names I have taken the liberty of referring to, can be held responsible for the following views, as I shall make use of information received and conclusions formed at a later period of my acquaintance with India, than pertains to this stage of the narrative. It is, however, but a slight sketch that can here be given. Many able and learned volumes have been written on these subjects, which the reader who desires to see more satisfactory statements, will of course consult. I shall be glad if the outline here presented shall awaken a desire to possess fuller information.

India is an extensive country, lying between lat. 8° and 35° N., and long. 67° and 92° E. Its boundaries are the Bay of Bengal and Burmah on the east, the Himalaya mountains on the entire north-east, the river Indus and the Arabian Sea on the north-west and west; which enclose an area of one million three hundred thousand square miles, running nearly to a point on the south, in the Indian ocean, being a territory nearly one-third larger than that of these United States. The term India, as often used, includes the countries further east, but I shall employ it agreeably to the common usage of late years, as the name of the territory whose boundaries have just been given. The Vindya mountains or hills extend from the western side almost to the Ganges, in the parallels of latitude from 23° to 25°. South of this range the country is called the Deckan, and sometimes Peninsular India; the country to the north of these hills is called Hindustan.

The greater part of this country possesses a soil of great fertility, particularly the immense plains watered by the Ganges and its tributaries, embracing, perhaps, four hundred thousand square miles,

for the most part of extremely rich, loamy, and alluvial soil; these plains are probably the most fertile and densely inhabited regions of the earth. The most remote of the north-western provinces, often called the Upper Provinces, or Upper India, become rather dry and sandy, with a sparser population, and towards the Indus there is an extensive sandy desert. What is called Central India, is said to be an elevated, broken, and rather sterile and thinly inhabited country; and along the western coast of the southern part, or Peninsular India, there is a continuous range of hills, rising sometimes to the height of six thousand feet, and another, but lower range, along the eastern side, about one hundred miles back from the sea; between these mountainous ranges themselves, and also between them and the sea, the soil is good, and supports a large population.

The climate is, during most of the year, extremely warm, and for three or four months, heavy rains fall almost incessantly. Thus with a good soil, great heat, and plenty of moisture for a long time in each year, the fertility of a large part of the land is almost unbounded, and vegetation is exceedingly rapid in its growth. Rice, cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, opium, indigo, and various small grains, are the productions of the lower, central, and peninsular provinces; these are not all grown in the same districts, but all may be met with. Further to the north, wheat and the hardier grains are common. Among the fruits are the cocoa-nut, the banana, the mango, the guava, &c.

The people are numerous, almost beyond the belief of one who has been brought up in a newly settled country; the whole number is commonly stated at about one hundred and fifty millions.

When it is recollected that some large districts are very thinly inhabited, it will be perceived that a very dense population is thrown into the remaining, though still the much larger provinces. Thus in Bengal, a province not larger than the states of New York and Pennsylvania, the number of inhabitants is estimated at thirty millions.

The complexion of the Hindus varies from that of the coal black labourers under the burning sun in the fields, to the olive-colour of the wealthy classes, or the agreeable brunette of the lady of the Zennana. Their features are commonly very regular and pleasing, their hair always dark; in their bodily frame the natives of the lower provinces are slight and feeble, and they are of a timid effeminate disposition; but towards the north-west you find a hardier, bolder race, amongst whom you often meet with noble-looking men of a proud, military bearing, wearing always full beards, which add greatly to their fierce appearance.

They live commonly in very poor houses, made of bamboo wicker-work, or of clay walls dried in the sun, some ten or twelve feet high, and twelve or fourteen square, without windows; (fire places are not needed;) sometimes divided by a basket-work partition to provide an inner abode for the female members of the family; with often a close hedge or mud wall to screen the back yard, and always nearly destitute of what we should call furniture, having neither chairs, tables, nor other heavy articles, but merely a low rude bedstead, a mat or two to sit on like tailors on the clay floor, and a few simple cooking utensils. This description applies chiefly to the houses of the common people. The wealthy and the great live in much larger and more costly edifices. The houses of

the Hindus are never found standing by themselves, like farm houses in this country, but always in villages, if not in larger towns and cities.

The Hindus are by no means an uncivilized people, though they have made little progress in the higher attainments of modern civilization. They have, however, a complete division of labour, with regular employment, usages, and settled opinions concerning the subjects with which they are acquainted. Blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, brass-workers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, jewellers, and a few other mechanics may be found in all the large cities; the mass of the people, however, cultivate the ground, though many are herdsmen, boatmen, fishermen, barbers, &c. Multitudes are priests, and not a few are beggars, either from necessity or from religious error. In a few branches of industry they have attained great excellence, as the Dacca fine muslins, and the Cashmere fabrics bear witness; but most of their manufactures are of a coarse quality, and their labour in the fields is performed with the rudest implements. There is no improvement in their industry or skill. They are, and have been for centuries, almost stationary in their position. They wear the same white muslins, and have the same fondness for showy processions, that Alexander the Great witnessed on the banks of the Indus, four centuries before the time of our Saviour. Doubtless they then ploughed the ground with a similar sharp pointed stick, and rowed their boats with oars projecting far out over the water, and had their few horses shod by an itinerant blacksmith, carrying his stock of tools tied up in an apron.

How are we to account for this wonderfully

stereotype character of every thing Indian? It may be owing partly to the denseness of the population; for in countries where the inhabitants are extremely numerous, and the means of subsistence scarcely equal to their support, changes are made with great difficulty. Other causes may have their influence. I cannot doubt that much should be ascribed to the system of *caste*, which is universally prevalent.

This peculiar system was and continues to be primarily a religious institution, but it has become interwoven with the social and civil institutions of the country, and indeed with the entire life of the Hindus. It completely perpetuates the state of things with which it has become connected. Any general change would be fatal to its power. Originally there were but four castes. The Brahman, formed from the mouth of the Creator to expound his laws, stands at the highest point of human elevation; the gods themselves are hardly his superiors; all rulers who are not of his own order, are far below his rank, and for the most atrocious crimes his life, under the native law, cannot be taken from him. Then follows the Kshatriya, formed from the arms of the Creator, to protect the Brahmans in their spiritual duties. The noble looking Raj-puts of the western provinces are generally Kshatriyas, and are in great numbers found in the native regiments of the East India Company, where they make capital soldiers. Below them are the Vaissyas, created from the belly of their deity, and much inferior to the two higher classes. They are the ryots or farmers, a simple minded, regular, peaceful body of people, as farmers are every where, enjoying the proud distinction of minding chiefly their own business, shar-

ing more largely in the quiet satisfaction of human life, and less in its turmoils, than any other class of people. Still lower are the Indras, formed to be servants to the Brahmans from the feet of their god. Thus does this system exalt the Brahman tribe, and degrade all the other classes of the people. It was probably introduced to promote and perpetuate the power of the priestly class, as the various monastic institutions, with their regulations, are made subsidiary to the power and elevation of the Roman ecclesiastics above the common people.

It would seem that the original features of this institution have, in the progress of many centuries, become greatly changed. It would now be a difficult task to determine a Hindu's employment, or even his relative standing among his countrymen, by his relation to these general divisions of the system. Numerous sub-divisions of caste have occurred, and many mixed castes exist, though new sects, I believe, are no longer formed. Perhaps few subjects are more embarrassing than the formation and rules of these mixed classes; I shall not attempt to describe them. It will be sufficient to note that while the original classification still exists as the basis of all the existing varieties, and in a great measure determines their rank, still these smaller divisions have landmarks of their own, and their usages are tenaciously adhered to by their respective members. At the present day every occupation is allotted to a distinct sect. A person of one caste never eats with one of a different caste, nor are marriage connexions formed between them. The system is hereditary, and so is commonly the occupation; the son of a farmer being commonly a farmer, the son of a shop-

keeper a shop-keeper; and the usages of the system, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, are unchangeable. There can be no change but by falling, no rising to a higher class, nor transition from one to another; and the transgression of the smallest ceremonial would precipitate even a Brahman to the bottom of society. Provision is made, however, for restoring those who have fallen to their former standing. Liberal presents and bounteous feasts to the Brahmans have great efficacy in expiating the offence incurred by a departure from the usages of this system, if the penitent transgressor will but walk more strictly for the future.

It would be a departure from the usages of caste to adopt any improvement in any kind of employment, and the violation of these usages would be instantly visited with the severest punishment, the loss of property, of reputation, of employment, even all hope of obtaining from the nearest relation the cold charity bestowed on common beggars by the hand of strangers. Here is one great difficulty preventing the conversion of this people to Christianity. To receive the memorials of the Lord's Supper in company with other communicants, would be a violation of caste, unless the officiating minister and all the communicants were of the same caste; and the same difficulty is apparent as to other Christian duties. Nor is it less a hinderance to all improvement in the temporal affairs of the people. It is a heavy weight crushing down the spirit of enterprize, even though enterprize in that land is goaded on by necessity, and quickened by the keenest appetite of covetousness. It raises a wall around the Hindu, which he never dreams of climbing over or throwing down. He concludes that such is his fate, "Ham-

ara dastur hai," "it is our custom," is his resigned, passive reply to every proposal of a change. Shall this dreadful system always bind down the minds of the people of India? No, surely. Its very weight and bondage will conduce the sooner to its being thrown off, when the people begin to see its many direful evils. And other considerations, which cannot here be introduced, serve to show that the day is drawing nigh when this master-piece of the great spiritual adversary's invention to enslave the minds of men, shall be broken and dashed into a thousand fragments, and when it shall be known only on the pages of history as one of the almost incredible things of former ages.

CHAPTER III.

THE HINDUS—CONTINUED.

Poverty of the People—Literature—Religion.

From the account already given of their houses and style of living, it will be readily inferred that the Hindus are generally a very poor people. There are a few persons of large wealth, chiefly merchants, bankers, and farmers of the government revenue from landed property; but the mass of the people are extremely poor, living on two scanty vegetable meals a day, clothing themselves with the coarsest cotton fabrics, and lodging in hovels such as have been described. In the part of the country through which I travelled, which contains two-thirds of the population of India, the

common rate of wages for labouring men was from two and a half to four rupees a month, or from one dollar and twenty-five cents to two dollars, and this was their entire compensation, as they received neither clothes nor board in addition, and moreover they had no Sabbaths, those blessed days of rest to the poor man. This poverty is not owing to indolence, for they are an industrious, though not an energetic people; nor is it owing to want of thrift, for no people know better how to make a few coppers buy a good supply of marketing. Nor is it owing, as it appears to me, to the oppressive government of their present rulers. It must be admitted, however, that the Hindus are losers under their present government in one important matter, though it is difficult rightly to appreciate their disadvantage. The revenue of the East India Company and the income of their servants are not all spent in India; nor does commerce restore to the Hindus what they lose by this constant drain of their pecuniary means. Their former rulers lived and died amongst them, and though their exactions might have been ruinous to individuals, yet they did not diminish the ability of the people at large; what one man was deprived of, another enjoyed—it may have been most iniquitously; yet the money was still kept in India. The British succeeded the Mohammedans as the rulers of India, and they have greatly improved the condition of the common people; but they may not have sufficiently changed the general system of their predecessors, so as to allow to the cultivators of the soil a larger subsistence from their labours. The amount of taxation, of every kind, under the East India Company, has been stated at less than one dollar on the average to each Hindu—a sum which does

not appear excessive, and which, poor as the mass of people are, probably would not be burdensome if it were returned through other channels, as is the case in nearly all other countries, to the people at large. About £3,500,000, it is stated, is annually remitted to England, being rather more than one-sixth of the whole amount of taxes paid to the British by the Hindus.

It may also be questioned whether the manner of administering the government of India is not too purely foreign and English, and some might doubt whether it is sufficiently responsible, not to the Hindus, who are certainly incapable at present of governing themselves, but to the British people; for India must now be regarded as a dependency of of the British Empire. Whatever be the direct or the remote influence of these considerations on the condition of the Indians, I am satisfied that their general poverty cannot be ascribed to British rule. Their government is attended with its disadvantages, no doubt, but it secures to every man the possession of his property, the sacredness from illegal violence of his person and his family, and the redress of his grievances, so far as that can be effected amongst so corrupt a people. In one word, it is a government of Law, conferring blessings which were unknown under native and Mohammedan rule. Then the wealthy studiously concealed their wealth, and clad themselves in poorer garb than other people. Then no man's wife or daughter was secure from insult, and it could hardly be said that any man's life was safe; lawless despotism reigned over the land, which was the more galling because in the hands of numerous and constantly changing rajahs and nabobs. Perhaps one of the most satisfactory proofs of the

good influence of British rule in India is found in the fact often witnessed, that whenever a district or town, that previously belonged to a native king or chief, comes under the authority of the British, immediately the natives move into it and the number of its inhabitants largely increases. Such was the case at Lodiana, where I was settled, and at other places that came under my own observation.

The great body of the Hindus were always, under every variety of government, a very poor people; their present poverty, therefore, is no new thing; nor are the late famines, and the lamentable loss of life thereby, new dispensations in that country. Perhaps, also, in a country of which many provinces contain a population so densely overgrown, it could hardly be otherwise than that most of its inhabitants would be compelled to live on short allowances; the means of subsistence are not proportioned to the number of mouths to be supplied; and this natural evil has no doubt been made worse by the selfishness of commerce, in exporting to other countries large quantities of rice for the provision of people who can afford to pay a better price for their bread. The grand cause of Hindu poverty and suffering, in my judgment, is the intolerable burden of their religious system, with its countless hosts of unprofitable priests and faqirs; its multitudes of beggars, earning religious merit, not urged by necessity to seek for alms; its numerous long, expensive, and painful pilgrimages to holy shrines and places, involving thousands of families every year in utter ruin; its incessant draining of the hard-earned gains of every labouring man and woman to satisfy the exactions of the Brahmans for priestly services, in ways and for occasions as numerous as the hours of every man's life,

and with a rigour of superstition incredible to those who have not themselves been not merely witnesses but students of its enormity; and, perhaps more than all, its apathetic, death-like influence, withering and destroying all enterprize, improvement, and hope of bettering their condition.

The literature of the Indians is very peculiar in its character, nor is it easy to form an accurate opinion of its value. Mr. Colebrooke has given a general outline or analysis of their writings in the Asiatic Researches, which presents them in a sufficiently favourable light. From this paper a few particulars may be quoted. There are six proper shastras, in which all knowledge, divine and human, is said to be comprehended. These are the Veda, Upaveda, Vedanga, Purana, Dherma, and Dersana. The four Vedas, the fountain of all knowledge, treat of works, faith, and worship. Some of these are of very ancient origin, being written in Sanscrit so obscure and concise that modern scholars with difficulty understand them. They are of great extent, consisting of two thousand sections, with many hundred branches in various divisons and sub-divisions. The Tantra, Mantra, and other incantations, which are very numerous, belong to this class. The commentaries on the Vedas are said to be innumerable. The Upavedas, or sub-scriptures, are deduced from the Vedas, and treat of medicine, music, archery, under which the whole art of war is included, architecture, &c. Mr. Colebrooke says, that the medical books contain much useful information concerning the virtues of Indian roots and plants. The medical practice of the Hindus does not deserve the name of a regular science. Three of the six Vedangas treat of Grammar, a fourth of the obscure words in

the Vedas, a fifth of religious ceremonies, and another of the whole range of mathematics. The Sanscrit prosody is said to be easy and beautiful, containing all the measures of the Greeks. Astronomical works in the Sanscrit are very numerous, seventy-nine of them being specified in one list. Subordinate to these general classes are the three last mentioned of the proper Shastras, containing the poems, the body of law, and the philosophical treatises. The Rámáyana and the Mahábhárat are the principal poems; the former is "a complete epic poem on one continued, interesting, and heroic action;" the latter is superior in its reputation for holiness. The eighteen Puranas, of which the Bhágawat, or life of Krishna, is the last, "contain ancient traditions, embellished by poetry, or disguised by fables." The system of Law consists of many tracts in high estimation, of which the most celebrated is the Code of Menu, on which there are numerous commentaries. The Dersana or Philosophical writings are also very numerous, and are explained by many commentators. The Vedanta is considered analogous to the Platonic, the first Nyá ya to the Peripatetic, and other classes to corresponding Greek schools. Besides the Shastras, or sacred writings, there are books for the use of the Sudras, or lowest and far the most numerous class of the Hindus, but the paper from which these notices are quoted, does not give a satisfactory account of them, nor have I elsewhere met with a description of them. The longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of these Shastras. The Puranas alone are said to contain nearly five hundred thousand stanzas, with a million more, probably, in the other works mentioned.

One view of these writings possesses great practical interest—it is that all are regarded as sacred. Not only the biographies of their gods, but their works on law, astronomy, and other subjects, are considered of divine authority.

Extensive as are the writings of the Hindus, there are comparatively few learned men amongst them, and they are by no means correct general scholars; and their acquirements are seldom of much practical value. Their studies have the effect of disciplining their faculties, so that they are often acute and ready reasoners. The great body of the people, however, are ignorant in the extreme. They are debased alike by their religion and their poverty. Their religion has no days of instruction, their temples have no preachers, and their poverty leaves no time for the cultivation of the mind. Besides these causes of ignorance is another more universal and powerful, the degraded condition of the female sex. Prevented both by their religion and their social usages from acquiring the simplest elements of written knowledge, never seen in the schools, neither honoured nor cherished by their parents, brothers, or husbands, and in no respect fitted for the responsible duties which devolve upon them, they are incapable of teaching their children any useful lesson, either by precept or by their own example. And thus, the mothers throughout the land being alike ignorant if not alike degraded, the children grow up in a great measure untaught and vicious; the time of youth, the only season of leisure to most Hindus, passes away without instruction, discipline, or improvement.

The religion of the Hindus is a very large subject; to do it justice would require a volume. I

shall endeavour to present merely a few notices and remarks of a general character concerning it.

It is supposed that about one seventh part of the Hindus are followers of the false prophet; their faith is like that of their sect every where, and their practice differs but little from that of their heathen countrymen. They are hardly less superstitious, nor at all less addicted to immoral practices. Amongst the pagan Hindus a considerable diversity of sects exists, whose religious tenets are various and often contradictory. The Budhists and the Jains hold opinions that are irreconcilable with the Brahmanical forms of belief. The votaries of the latter constitute the much larger part of the people.

According to their belief, "the great deity Brahm remains in obscurity, and superstition is never allowed to profane his name, which is always kept clear of fiction. Three energies, however, the creating, preserving, and destroying, are embodied under the names of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, to each of whom a female or passive energy is attached. These have all human forms, diversified by the imagination in various ways; and as the two last are supposed to have descended many times, each avatar or incarnation furnishes a distinct deity, to whom worship is addressed. Of the three specified, Brahma alone has no incarnations, and is never worshipped. Besides these three principal gods there is a whole pantheon of minor deities. The sea, the winds, the heavens, the elements, the sun, moon, and stars, every river, fountain, and stream, is either a deity in itself, or has a divinity presiding over it, nothing being done without the intervention of supernatural power. Descending still lower, there are myriads of demi-

gods, of a most extraordinary description, and numerous beyond the powers of calculation. A little red paint smeared over a stone, a lump of clay, or the stump of a tree, converts it into a god, worshipped by the lower classes, and saluted by the upper with much apparent devotion."

This extract from Hamilton's Gazetteer presents a succinct sketch of the objects of worship among the greater part of the Hindus, and it probably covers the whole ground. Some writers enumerate seventeen principal deities; the whole number, composed of all the classes, is often stated at three hundred and thirty millions, which, we may suppose, is a large number intended to convey the idea of infinity. It is, however, doubtless true that in India the gods are more numerous than their worshippers.

The metaphysical among the educated classes will describe their religion as a pure theism, explaining away what seems contrary to the divine unity in the number of gods and goddesses, and putting a spiritual construction on what is gross in the actual prevalence of idolatry; and they will express many just views of the character of God. Others hold such notions as are but atheism, and others more numerous are gross pantheists, while the mass of the people, incapable of refined speculations, are neither more nor less than gross idolaters, worshipping "lords many and gods many."

If we look now at the common observances of religion, and the degree of attention given to its worship, we must consider the Hindus a highly religious people. Nothing is undertaken, no event occurs, hardly an hour passes, without the performance of religious services. These are sometimes very simple, perhaps merely the reverent lifting

of the folded hands to the forehead; sometimes, very difficult and expensive, such as prayers and fastings, repeated bathings, pilgrimages, painful self inflictions, gifts of flowers, rice, and money, sacrifices of goats, bullocks, and formerly of human life. The birth of a child, giving his name, marriage, engaging in business, making a journey, sickness, death, funeral rites, and a thousand other things, are the occasions for performing religious ceremonies; and as the Brahmans alone can officiate and are always paid for their services according to the utmost measure of the votary's ability, they are extremely watchful to prevent any omission or neglect of ritual duty. It has been well ascertained that the rite of the suttee, or self-immolation, was strongly urged in many cases on poor widows by these priests, who were instigated by the mercenary prospect of sharing in the presents, which were always made by surviving friends on such occasions.

There are numerous religious buildings, or temples, of a great variety in their structure and size, which are only places of prayer and ritual solemnities, and not of religious instruction. There are no regular days of rest and religious teaching, but numerous festivals are observed. These differ in length from part of a day to several weeks; they are professedly observed by the followers of the god in whose honour they are held, but other sects often unite in their celebration, and they are usually accompanied with great frivolity and dissipation.

Without going more at length into an account of this religion, I would now notice its defects and faults. It gives no correct revelation of the character and will of God. It provides no atonement

for sin, nor any motives nor means of purifying the fountains of thought and affection in our depraved nature. It imposes no restraint on the wickedness of men. It yields no support nor any consolation in the time of sickness, calamity, and bereavement. It sheds no light on the grave, opens no door of hope beyond the tomb. It is thus a religion of darkness, cheerless, gloomy, full of despair to the soul of a sinful man.

It is, moreover, worse than all this. We have seen its oppressive influence on the temporal condition of the people. Besides this, it is most demoralizing. It authorizes the commission of various crimes, amongst which, to certain classes, is the most remorseless murder; see, for proof, the work published by the British India Government, concerning Thuggee. The gods and goddesses are the exemplars of every vice and crime. Their history is often outrageously shocking to every pure mind, and so is their worship. Abandoned women are a part of the establishment connected with many temples; dissolute priests abound, and their sacred character gives them greater facilities for gratifying their wishes, than other vile men enjoy. Polygamy prevails, though checked by the poverty of the people; and it is lawful, because the gods have many wives. A priest has been known to have sixty wives, married for their dower, and for gratifying his own base passions. Poor woman is degraded to a very low degree; her religion never inspires her mind with pure aims, nor gives her an honourable standing, nor opens to her a better prospect hereafter. Little truth, uprightness and confidence exist in business transactions. It is almost impossible to ascertain the merits of cases brought before the English rulers, so unscru-

pulous and utterly false are the witnesses. Partners in the same shop often have their separate locks, to prevent one entering unless the others are also present. These things, and many such like things, in themselves most evil, and not the less evil because flowing fairly from fallen human nature, are the more dreadful, because they are the offspring of religion, the imitation by men of the character and conduct of their gods!

I am well aware that certain writers have spoken more favourably of the Hindus, but I would ask the reader to distinguish between things that differ. There is much in the manners of a Hindu, especially in his respectful deference to his superiors, and all Europeans are immeasurably his superiors, or so regarded by him, that is certainly very prepossessing and pleasing. There is also amongst themselves commonly the entire absence of rude and violent conduct, and between persons of the same station in life, there is a beautiful courteousness of manner. Their habits of living, moreover, are remarkably simple, temperate, and regular; and there is often a touching regard for their relations. And yet these things have their contraries, especially in the last mentioned particular, for you often see the aged and the sick exposed to death on the banks of the Ganges, or most cruelly neglected at home. But still, it must be conceded, and I admit most cheerfully, that there is much to admire in the manners of the Hindus, and in their character as it appears to a superficial observer, especially if he survey them from an elevated position. It gives me pleasure to admit, also, that there are men who evince a praiseworthy regard to their engagements. And yet I fully agree with those writers who present the Hindu charac-

ter in darker shades. The favourable traits just mentioned have misled amiable religious men, like Bishop Heber, whose knowledge of the native character, as it appears among the natives, was but limited; and these same things may have convinced men, not themselves acquainted with the evil of the human heart, nor of its offensiveness to God, that the Hindus are already an excellent, if not a virtuous people. But the reader of these pages, I trust, will form his opinion of the statements brought under his notice, by the unerring standard of the Divine oracles. And in their light, I fear not to claim for these millions of heathen, his most sincere and active compassion. No people more greatly need the enlightening, purifying, and ever living influences of the religion of the Bible.*

I now return to the mission, undertaken with the humble hope of promoting the best interests of this people, by making known to them the gospel of the grace of God.

CHAPTER IV.

CHOICE OF A MISSIONARY FIELD.

North-western provinces, reasons for the choice of—Educational movement—Authorities friendly—Arrival timely—Missionary co-operation.

After carefully weighing the information we had received, Mr. Reed and myself were clear in our conviction that the north-western provinces

* See a paper on the condition of the heathen, at the end of the volume, Appendix 1.

presented the best field of labour, in which to begin our efforts. They contain a numerous and hardy population, with a better climate than the lower provinces, and there is a ready access to the lower ranges of the Himalaya mountains in case of the failure of health. They were then, and they continue to be, in a great measure unoccupied by the missionary institutions of other bodies of Christians. And their position connects them with other countries in which no efforts have yet been made to introduce the Christian religion. The Sikhs, to whom our attention at first was specially directed, are a distinct people, neither Mahommedans nor Pagans in their religion, though their manner of life differs but little from that of the pagan Hindus. They inhabit chiefly the Panjáb, but many of their chiefs live on the south side of the Sutlej under British protection, and their territories are called the Protected Sikh States. No missionary establishment had ever been formed for their benefit. A part of the Scriptures had been translated into their language, the Gurmukhí, by the Serampore Society.

These general considerations appeared of sufficient weight to authorize our deciding on this part of the country, although, we were aware, it would require a tedious journey and considerable expense to reach any given point in it. But we considered that these were disadvantages which some missionaries would have to surmount, if the means of grace should ever be established among those destitute people; and it was deemed moreover, highly important to choose a large field, and one sufficiently removed from the missions of other Societies, so that there might be ample room for extended efforts. We had the happiness of find-

ing that our choice was highly approved by our Calcutta advisers, amongst whom we had the privilege now of consulting with the Rev. Dr. Corrie, the friend of Henry Martyn, who afterwards became Bishop of Madras. He was absent in the Upper Provinces on our arrival, where he had been for many years stationed as a Chaplain, but had now returned, and we accounted it no small favour to be allowed to see so much of one who was not less beloved for his amiable and pure character as a gentleman, than revered and venerated for his excellence and faithfulness as a Christian minister.

Besides the general reasons mentioned above, there was just at that time a movement to promote the spread of the English language and learning in some of the important cities in those Upper Provinces. English Colleges had been established by the government at Agra and Delhi, and instruction of a similar kind was wanted at some other places, one of which was Lodiana. This was the frontier post then occupied by the British on the north-west, and a town of some twenty thousand or twenty-five thousand people, whose numbers were rapidly increasing. It contained a number of Afghans and Cashmerians in addition to the Sikhs and Hindus. The Afghans were from one thousand to two thousand in number, and were chiefly the retainers of two exiled kings, who after a variety of sad fortunes, one of them having been cruelly deprived of his sight, had taken refuge under the protection of the British, and had been living at Lodiana for nearly twenty years, receiving a large annual pension from the generosity of the East India Company. One of these kings is now on the throne of Caubul, so various are the changes of Eastern politics! The Cashmerians were more numerous.

They had been driven from their homes by a famine and by the oppression of the Sikhs, to whom their beautiful valley was in subjection, and several thousands of them were now following their various occupations, chiefly that of weaving, at Lodiana. From these classes, and from the Hindus, a number of scholars could be procured to attend an English school. Some of the Sikh chiefs, also, were anxious to have their sons acquainted with English, and an Afghan chief, living west of the Indus, had actually sent his son to the care of the Political Agent at Lodiana for the same purpose—an event so singular amongst the people of that part of the world, that he received credit, I presume, for being influenced by a desire to acquire political knowledge for his own use, rather than the instructions of a school for his son. This desire for an English education was not confined to Lodiana, but existed at Amballa and other places in the North-western provinces. It was understood that the government had under consideration the question of extending their educational system so as to embrace Amballa and Lodiana, both in the Protected Sikh States. It was indeed highly probable that some secular institution of learning would soon be formed at one or both of those cities.

Our Calcutta advisers rightly deemed it of great importance, that in the efforts about to be made, the Christian religion should not be divorced from education, as is unhappily the case in the government Colleges and most of the schools for English learning in India, whose influence, therefore, only tends to the overthrow of the existing religion of the country, without at all introducing the Christian faith in its stead. And they and ourselves both considered it advisable to connect our proceedings,

in the first instance, if possible, with this Educational movement. Having decided on those provinces as our sphere of duty, it seemed extremely desirable to enter on our vocation, by taking the lead in the efforts for the instruction of the people, thus gaining effectual access to the minds of influential classes without awakening their religious prejudices, which were represented as peculiarly strong in provinces so lately brought under British rule. The same consideration, though with diminished force, applied to our intercourse at first with the English gentlemen in charge of the government of those distant provinces. Education was common ground for them and ourselves to stand on, until they could become acquainted with our views and plans of proceeding. For it should be remembered that we were the first American missionaries who had attempted to form stations up the country, and our character, object, and mode of proceeding were all to be developed.* If favourable impressions should be made by the pioneers of our enterprise, it would greatly conduce to the comfort and success of both themselves and their future associates. Indeed, in the Protected Sikh States almost everything depended, in the first efforts, on the friendly countenance of the political agents and other English gentlemen. In these circumstances the kind offices of Mr. Trevelyan, whose name I have already mentioned, were invaluable. He was one of the most able and successful supporters of the change of policy in the Government patronage of education, whereby the antiquated and cumbrous systems of oriental error were made to give place to the liberal and useful branches of European knowledge; and the educa-

* See Appendix II.

tional movement in the north-west had already found in him a warm and efficient advocate. His official and friendly relations, moreover, with the officers of the government in the Sikh States, as well as his position in the Cabinet, to use our Washington phrase, were precisely those which rendered his cordial advocacy of our object of the greatest service. We should have been blind, indeed, not to have seen and recognized in these things the kind interposition of Him, in whose cause we were engaged, and who thus gave us favour in the sight of his servants, the rulers of the land.

This extended account will not be considered too long, when the reader adverts to the apprehension which existed amongst many persons as to our reception by the British authorities. We had feared that difficulties might be interposed to prevent our proceeding to the interior. Some of our countrymen, twenty years before, had been required by the men then in power to withdraw from the territories of the East India Company. And so little was known at home of the favourable change in the administration of the India government, and of the liberal and enlightened policy of Lord W. C. Bentinck, the Governor General at the time of our arrival, that it was considered doubtful by some of our best informed men whether we should be allowed to form a settlement in the interior. I recollect particularly an expression of opinion to this effect by one of the Secretaries of our oldest Missionary Society. In England there is often much complaint by those connected with India affairs, of the want of information and the apathy of the community at large in regard to everything Indian. In the United

States, for obvious reasons, there is still less information and interest, but "the times of this ignorance," we may hope, are passing away, and shall be succeeded by a lively concern, especially amongst religious people, in everything affecting the welfare of so large a portion of the human family. In no respect were our misapprehensions and misgivings more entirely without foundation, and more happily removed, than in our obtaining readily the permission of the Governor General in Council to proceed to the places we had mentioned in our petition, in which we had stated concisely but clearly our object, and requested liberty to reside in the north-western provinces. It was considered advisable in the first instance to send up such a petition, in order to preclude all suspicion as to our character, and plans, and to remove any possible hinderance from the path of those who should follow us. For the favourable presenting of this paper, we were indebted to the gentleman, whose kindness I have already spoken of. We can now look to a missionary home in India with no more apprehension on this point than we should contemplate a removal to one of our own states. It is therefore less easy to understand the solicitude that was then felt on this subject. I should not dismiss this point, without mentioning the view impressed on my mind by Lord W. C. Bentinck's administration of the Supreme Government in India. It was his high honour to suppress the horrible rite of the suttee, to encourage the study of useful knowledge in the government colleges, to abolish the odious and oppressive system of transit-duties, and to manifest a steady regard to the principle, itself not more benevolent than true, that the present rulers of India have been entrusted with the power to control the desti-

nies of its myriads of people, only in order to promote their best advance in knowledge and general improvement. And it would be extremely ungrateful in me not to acknowledge at the same time our obligations to Lady William Bentinck, for her Christian favour towards our object. Her influence was given to promote it with a kindness worthy of herself, and in a manner as considerate as it was effective. More I ought not to say; less with justice to my own feelings, I cannot. I have got in advance of the order of time in the narrative, however, and must return from this digression.

Our arrival in India appeared now to be most seasonable. If we had arrived at Calcutta at an earlier period, those special providences which seemed to open a door before us at Lodiana had not then occurred, and we should probably have been led to choose some other part of the country as the scene of our endeavours. If we had arrived one year later, we should doubtless have found the ground pre-occupied; some secular institution of learning with its influences would have so completely blocked up the way, that it might not have appeared practicable to form a religious establishment. We could not doubt that we were under the guidance of Him, who orders all things according to the counsel of his will, and who ever goes before his people, disposing their way so as to promote their best usefulness and his own highest glory.

Nor could we fail to acknowledge with gratitude the kind and welcome reception extended to us by our English missionary brethren. The Calcutta and Serampore missionaries, and those whom we afterwards met at other places, of every denomination, not only gave us a cordial welcome as

co-labourers with themselves, but cheerfully granted us every information and advice, often greatly needed by persons so inexperienced as we were, and always valuable from their long acquaintance with the country and people. The remembrance of much pleasant Christian intercourse with them, often awakens many tender and sacred feelings. There is surely something as delightful as it is strange in the bond of brotherhood, which unites all the sincere followers of Christ. Here were Englishmen, Scotchmen, Germans, and Americans; Episcopalians, Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians, dwelling together in Christian charity, labouring together, not perhaps with perfect harmony of views, for that is reserved for a better state, but with mutual confidence and esteem; not laying aside their respective peculiarities, but so strongly animated by a common spirit and a common aim that their various differences did not prevent their respecting each other, and seeking each other's highest usefulness. May this spirit of forbearance and of love ever dwell in the hearts of all missionaries!

In the review therefore of the many favourable circumstances under which our missionary course was commenced in India, it were not only ingratitude, but blindness in the extreme, not to recognize the hand of God in thus prospering our way. And the persuasion that His presence and blessing were indeed with us, proved our support and our ground of hope in many dark and trying hours.

CHAPTER V.

EVENTS AT CALCUTTA.

Death of Mrs. Lowrie—Decision to remain at Calcutta till the rainy season—Study of the language—Missionary efforts, three kinds—Mr. Reed's illness and return.

It was but a few weeks after our arrival at Calcutta that we were called to bow in humble submission to the will of God, in what was to me a very distressing dispensation. My wife's health was by no means firm on leaving the United States, but her medical friends thought her going to a warmer and less changeable climate would prove decidedly favourable in restoring her strength. During the voyage, however, she became gradually weaker, and before we reached Calcutta, it was apparent that her days would soon be numbered. She was herself the first to perceive the true nature of her illness; she calmly prepared herself for its fatal result, and she endeavoured to prepare our minds for the hour of parting. Never have I known any person in similar circumstances, whose mind was kept more perfectly in peace, and whose prevailing desire was stronger than her's "to depart and to be with Christ." With a blessed Christian hope, she departed this life on the 21st November. It is not desirable to give an extended notice here of one who was greatly beloved, as her former pastor, the Rev. A. G. Fairchild, was kind enough to prepare a small volume of her memoirs, which has met with much acceptance, having passed through several Editions, and which, there is reason to believe, has rendered good ser-

vice to the cause to which she had devoted her life. Her remains now rest in the Scottish Burial Ground, Calcutta.

I have forborne to speak of my own feelings in this time of deep affliction. There are dispensations in the lives of most men, whose desolating severity no language can describe. There are hours of cold despair, which nature could not long endure, and which the blessed Gospel can best illumine and change into resignation. The support of our holy religion was graciously vouchsafed, as I trust, to myself and my companions in this season of trial; and though the early removal of one who appeared so well fitted for usefulness was a dark event, we were assured that we should sorrow not as those who have no hope, that we should weep only for ourselves and for the heathen, and that we should know hereafter, as we could believe now, that infinite kindness and wisdom had been displayed in our calamity.

A week or two before this mournful event, it had been agreed that Mr. and Mrs. Reed should proceed alone to the station we had concluded to occupy, and they had made some progress in their preparation for the journey. But on further reflection it was thought better to delay their departure. It was then evident that Mrs. Lowrie could not linger long amongst us, and they with the kindest consideration of our feelings did not wish to leave us alone in the approaching hour of death. Besides this it was urged by our friends in Calcutta that the river at that season was low, and the winds adverse, so that it would be a very tedious and difficult voyage to ascend it. And as the hot winds would prevail in the upper provinces before they could finish the land part of their route,

it was deemed better to postpone their journey. It was therefore finally concluded that they should remain at Calcutta until the next rainy season, and then I could proceed with them; in the meantime we could prosecute the study of the native language. If they had gone agreeably to our first decision, I have often endeavoured to imagine what would have been the probable subsequent history of our mission. It has been well remarked, that "we do not know what are the small, nor what the great events of our lives;" sometimes those which appear smallest are yet attended with the gravest consequences. If Mr. Reed had proceeded, possibly his valuable life might have been greatly prolonged; and yet the journey, instead of proving beneficial might have rendered his days fewer in number. One thing has seemed not improbable, if he had proceeded with his wife as his only companion, that, owing to the length of the journey, and the difficulty of making it with so little acquaintance with the people and their ways as we then possessed, which would of course have been much more serious to a married man than to one who had but himself to provide for, my excellent associate might have been induced to stop at some of the many important places much nearer Calcutta, which were not less in want of Missionary services than Lodiana and other places, in the far northwest. I am sure he would have been strongly urged to occupy some of these stations; while, for myself, I might have been strongly tempted, by deep feelings of sorrow and not less by wretched health, to return to the land of my fathers. Thus it might easily have happened, not to say that it probably would, that the missionary efforts of our Church in India would have been

undertaken under widely different circumstances from what eventually occurred. Nor have I any doubt, having now the history of nearly ten years to confirm the opinion, that our first position was on many accounts preferable to any other, as a point from which to commence our efforts. Other cities had a larger population, and could be reached in less time, and at less expense, but at no other could more favourable *introducing* influences have been enjoyed; at no other could our position have been more distinctly defined, nor our character and object more accurately estimated by the foreign residents of the Upper Provinces; at no other were we less likely to find ourselves labouring "in another man's line of things made ready to our hand," or to occupy ground that other bodies of Christians would shortly cultivate; and, not to insist on the important consideration of health, no other place was then nor is now more commanding in its relations to other and not less dark regions of the earth, in its facilities for acquiring a number of the languages chiefly spoken in those parts, and in the access afforded to people whose character if brought under Christian influences, and whose geographical situation, would better enable them to spread far and wide the knowledge of the true religion.

After my companions had relinquished the plan of proceeding immediately up the country, we agreed to take a house for the next seven months in Howrah, across the Hoogley from Calcutta; and our plan was to devote our attention to the character and usages of the people, the best plans of missionary labour amongst them, having at that city almost every plan under our view, and particularly to the acquisition of the native language.

As soon as the requisite arrangements were made we procured a native teacher, and commenced studying the language. This must be the first and highest duty of the newly arrived missionary. Without this knowledge he will probably become discontented, and he assuredly cannot be useful in the highest degree. It is a very unsatisfactory plan to depend on interpreters, and it is never adopted by missionaries in India, unless for a short time while they are learning the language themselves. This study must engage the main labour indeed of every missionary, until he is able to speak the language with ease. And it will be well for him if he have the advice and aid of missionary associates, already acquainted with the particular dialect which he undertakes to acquire. For want of this aid, we met with considerable embarrassment; our Calcutta missionary friends speaking the Bengálí, and not the up-country dialects, and our Hindustáni teacher being able to give us little more assistance than to teach us the true pronunciation. In this study, however, almost every thing depends on one's own efforts. And while a close and patient attention should be given to books, such as grammars, dictionaries, and approved authors, it is not less necessary to mingle freely with the people, and thus acquire a practical readiness of speech, and of hearing too, for the natives utter their words very rapidly and almost inarticulately. Study and practice must go hand in hand. If a missionary would feel completely at home as a ready Hindu speaker, he must spend much of his time exclusively among the natives, while he cannot become an accurate and thorough scholar without long continued study of the best authors, and without habits of composition in writing the lan-

guage. A mistake to which one is liable, and by which we were hindered in our progress, is often that of being too purely students. One of the missionaries now in India has presented this point graphically in a paragraph, which fully supports this suggestion. "Many appear to have commenced with the idea that they must stick to their books, and attempt little or nothing until they are masters of the language. Perhaps they start out when they think they can talk pretty well; of course they are disappointed, and somewhat discouraged by their failure. They slip back into their study, and at once jump to the resolution of the fool in the Greek fable, that he would never venture into the water again until he had learned to swim. Those who have acted on the other principle have uniformly, I believe, become the earliest and best preachers in the native language."

While we were thus employed, we did not neglect to make ourselves acquainted with the plans of labour adopted by the missionaries in Calcutta. We enjoyed capital opportunities of profiting by their experience, and as the result of our inquiries, I insert an extract from our letter to the Secretary of the Society, the Rev. E. P. Swift, D. D., under date of April 24th 1834. The views given below have been supported by later and longer experience.

"Perhaps the direct efforts of missionaries may be reduced to three classes; *Preaching the Gospel* to many or few, as opportunity occurs, and in whatever way circumstances permit; *Preparation of Books*, including especially the translation of the Sacred Scriptures and the distribution of them; and *the Establishment and Superintendence of Schools*. A single missionary may engage more

or less in all these ways of doing good, if he have the requisite talents, health, and grace; but probably his labours would, in ordinary circumstances, be more efficient, if devoted chiefly to one of these departments. All these modes are open to our choice. As to the first, we have been able to hear of only one missionary that has ever gone among the Sikhs, or into the Protected Sikh States; and he went only on a short tour, and was not acquainted with the language principally spoken. In regard to the second, the only books in the Panjabí dialect are a translation of some parts of the Bible, and a small grammar of the language, both said to be very defective; at least, we have not yet heard of any other books, such as a missionary society would prepare, nor indeed of any kind. And as to schools, we believe there is not, and never has been one, under European or Christian direction, among the Sikhs. There is one at Sabathu among the Hill people, not under missionary direction, nor of high order, which succeeds well. The native schools throughout the country are of no value in any point of view, except as to the mere rudiments of reading and writing; and even these are taught to very few.

"We have, therefore, Dear Brother, the entire field before us, unoccupied, unattempted. It is indeed an inspiring thought, that our Society has the prospect of *beginning* all that shall yet be done in communicating the blessings of science and religion to millions. May the Lord still prepare the way and prosper the efforts you make!

"It has been a matter of anxious thought what shall be the system of education which we should attempt. As to preaching, and in respect to books, it is but little we can do until we have learned the

language. . . . . But to superintend a native school, we mean one taught by native teachers, and in the native language, a slighter acquaintance with the language is required, than is necessary in preaching. In teaching an English school, the missionary might begin almost immediately after his location. Some diversity of sentiment exists as to the prominence which should be given to education in English. . . . . One great object should be to train up, by the Lord's blessing and grace, a race of native preachers. To the former object (though to a certain extent it should, and we hope will, receive our attention) our number is quite inadequate. It must, indeed, be manifest, that the Church cannot send forth a sufficient number of missionaries to educate the entire population in a proper manner. The men, suitable in qualifications and circumstances, are not to be had. Moreover, it would be at a vast expense of money, of time, and of life, that that plan could be carried into execution. But all concur, that the best plan is to train up native preachers, by sending forth a sufficient number of persons to conduct the system by which they are to be prepared.

"Persuaded that yourself and the Committee will fully accord with these views, though so imperfectly presented, we proceed to mention directly, but briefly, the considerations which induce us to think, that *English* education should be made prominent. Here it will be recollected, that our chief object in education is to prepare native ministers who should be possessed of all the knowledge necessary to understand, explain, and enforce the meaning of the Sacred Volume. Any other kind of ministers would be of little service. But this knowledge does not exist in their lan-

guage. Shall we then endeavour to translate all the store of English Theology into Panjabí; or shall we educate young men in the English language, and spread before them the vast treasures of our Biblical, Systematic, and Practical Works? The former plan is much the most expensive of the two, and much the least practicable. All the missionaries in India could not accomplish the former, though aided by the funds of all the existing missionary societies. The latter plan is simple, and, with the Divine blessing, may be carried into effect by a few individuals. It is indeed only applying to a heathen land the principles recognized by our beloved Church concerning our ministers, though with greatly increased force of application in a heathen land. English will become to this country, what the Latin was to our forefathers—the learned language of the people. And it is worthy of special notice by every observer of Providence in this land, that just at the time when many natives are wishing to acquire English, the Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian, as if by common consent, are beginning to be laid on the shelf. The former contains all that is good, though with much that is bad; the latter contains almost unmixed evil. So far as there is any experience on this subject, it decidedly confirms this statement. We may further mention, concerning this matter, that, in addition to its being the only way of preparing suitable ministers, this kind of effort does not prevent the missionary from preaching, or preparing books, according to the measure of his time and talents; while it seems peculiarly recommended to our notice in this land, where Europeans and Americans cannot engage in preaching the gospel, nor perhaps in any kind of duty, but at considerable hazard, exposure, and

brevity of life. It is hardly necessary to explain, that we do not entertain the sentiments expressed above, to the exclusion of wishes and purposes for both common and female education; but we think it expedient to present them thus at length, because it is probable this will be our *first* kind of labour; as we can commence soon after we reach the scene of operation. We think we shall possess encouraging prospects as to both the other kinds of instruction."

During the latter part of the cold season, Mr. Reed was subject at times to a slight cough, though as his general health was good, it gave us but little alarm. After some weeks, however, it assumed such a regular character as to awaken our serious concern, and medical advice was obtained, which, though not of a decided character, by no means removed our fears. In the course of a few weeks, it became evident that his disease was the consumption. No means were now left untried to avert the disease, but it was all in vain; his strength gradually declined, and at length all hope of a final recovery was abandoned. Mr. Reed himself was of the opinion that his illness might prove a very protracted one; some of his relations had suffered under the same complaint for years, enjoying during much of the time such a degree of strength as fitted them for attending to their business. And his medical attendant encouraged this view of his case, which seemed the more probable, as but one lobe of the lungs was supposed to be affected. Still his weakness was so great as to unfit him for usefulness in a new mission, where everything was to be established, and the expense of living much greater than it would be amongst his friends, while the degree of comfort, bodily and mental,

was far less. After much consideration, and many fervent prayers for direction from on high, we were satisfied that it was advisable for him to return home. This was an exceedingly trying decision to himself, and not less so to his excellent wife. But they considered that this seemed to be the Lord's will, and under the same principles, and I believe with a greater sacrifice of feeling than they had made on leaving the United States, they now prepared for their voyage homeward. Our house in Howrah was given up, and Mr. and Mrs. Pearce again received our afflicted friends in their kind home. Passages were taken for them in the Edward, for Philadelphia; a few more weeks soon passed away, during which time Mr. Reed manifested the utmost degree of Christian fortitude and patience, and on the 23d of July they went on board. The ship had been delayed in her departure, and during the last week or two, Mr. Reed seemed to become feebler every day, so that we were inclined to doubt about his attempting so long a voyage. His kind medical adviser, however, still recommended the change, and all the arrangements having been completed, they did not deem it expedient to remain. Thus was our little company a second time visited with most trying dispensations; the general prospects of our mission continued to be favourable, but what with bereavement, loss of my companions, and health far from good, the long and solitary journey to Lodiana, appeared to me exceedingly disheartening. My own discouragements, however, were of light consequence when compared with my beloved missionary brother's mournful lot. His hopes were all disappointed, his plans all set aside, his fervent desire of usefulness to those poor heathens

not granted—I do not say, not accepted nor rewarded. For He whose eye saw his servant's purpose to assist in building the spiritual temple, would in his case as in that of David, accept the desire and vouchsafe a gracious reward. It is not what our hands perform that chiefly receives his favour, but what our hearts, influenced by his grace, devise and desire to accomplish. And if this dispensation appeared as dark as it was severe to us all, yet we were assured that what we knew not then we should know hereafter, and that we should yet praise God for all his dispensations towards ourselves and towards his cause. Thus in faith we parted, no more to meet on earth, but with a firm hope of meeting in a better world.*

* Nearly a year afterwards I heard of the death of Mr. Reed, on the 12th of August, about three weeks after leaving Calcutta. He continued to enjoy a calm and steady peace until the last, and then resigned his spirit into his Saviour's arms. He was a man of respectable talents, great patience, and excellent judgment; these traits, united with the perfect sincerity of his Christian character, and the entire devotion of all his powers and aims to his Lord's service, would have made him a most valuable minister of the gospel either at home or abroad, and seemed to fit him for eminent usefulness in the missionary field. But the Master whom he served had work for him in a higher sphere of duty and enjoyment.

CHAPTER VI.

JOURNEY TO LODIANA.

Native boats—Serampore—Dangers of "tracking"—Numerous towns—Boat wrecked—Berhampore—Moorshedabad.

While my missionary companions were preparing for their voyage by sea, I had been getting ready for a hardly less tedious voyage up the Ganges, and shortly after our parting on the Edward, I went on board a native boat. While they were going down the river, oppressed, I doubt not, with deeply sorrowful feelings, I was slowly making my way up the same river with no other company than the natives, and with a journey of twelve hundred miles before me, amongst a strange and heathen people. Under these circumstances, and at other times, I was made to feel that the trials of missionary life are often chiefly those of the mind. It is not the privation of the comforts of home, nor the outward hardships of his lot in his new sphere of life, but it is mainly the separation from friends, the loss of social and Christian privileges, the thoughts and longings of the mind for what must be foregone; the thousand visions of the imagination, by day and by night, of what is far distant and never again to be seen, making it extremely difficult for him to feel contented and cheerful—it is chiefly these things that are trying to bear. But trials can be supported with cheerfulness, if we are in the path of duty. I could not look in any direction without seeing multitudes of people "without God, and without hope in the

world." I could not receive the Sacred Scriptures as the guide of my own faith, and the means of my own hope of eternal life, without at the same time believing a knowledge of them to be equally necessary to the dark-minded people around me; nor could I doubt the solemn obligation resting on all Christians, to use all proper means for making known the glad tidings of salvation to every creature. Here then was a work to be done, of the most sacred character, by which the weightiest interests of the souls of men would be affected; and if the Saviour's spirit, not less than his command, but moved me to take part in that work, surely I could not doubt that all temporal and earthly sacrifices should readily be made in order to fidelity and success in so holy a calling. These were the circumstances, of all others, in which a missionary might humbly hope for the fulfilment of our Lord's promise, "Lo, I am with you always."—I could not hesitate, therefore, to go forward.

There are three modes of travelling in India; by the rivers in boats, or on land, with tents, or in palankeens. Before the introduction of steamers, which are but partially used, however, on the India rivers, the only mode of expeditious travelling was in a palankeen, carried by men, having relays stationed, by a previous arrangement, at certain stages, usually about ten miles apart. If the traveller takes his rest in his palankeen, and proceeds by night as well as by day, he may make about one hundred miles in the twenty-four hours. It is a very irksome way of travelling, and if he has much luggage, which he wishes to keep under his eye, this mode cannot be chosen. Travelling with tents, during the cold season, is a pleasant

way of making a journey, though a tedious one. From ten to fifteen miles a day is the usual distance of each stage. I determined to proceed by the river in the kind of boat commonly taken by European travellers, called a budgerow; and at the recommendation of others, I procured a smaller boat to accompany the budgerow, chiefly as a freight boat, but to serve also as the kitchen of our party. This smaller boat proved unnecessary and inconvenient, while it added to the expense. These boats are of a half round bottom, without a keel, rather wide towards the stern, and tapering to a long point in front. They have a cabin over the after-part, with a flat roof, on which the boatmen sleep at night, and work the boat much of the time by day, particularly in poling or sailing. A single mast stands nearly in the centre of the boat, just forward of the cabin, and oars are fastened to the long deck before the mast, but are seldom used. They carry no ballast, and the lading is so placed as to be above the water-line; being thus top-heavy, there is constant danger of being overturned.

These notices will aid the reader in understanding some of the notes which I made on this river journey, and which are now inserted, not merely because they contain remarks on the people, and present a mode of travelling with which we are happily unacquainted in this country, but because they will serve also to exhibit the serious dangers which attend travelling on the Ganges. Our missionaries, who have all gone by this route, would agree with me, probably, in accounting the journey from Calcutta to the up-country stations, as really more hazardous, and more trying to one's temper,

though certainly far more interesting, than the voyage to Calcutta.

July 25, 1834.—Having engaged a twelve-oared budgerow, and another native boat for the servants to cook on, and for part of the luggage, I had expected to start early this morning on the journey to Lodiana. Bishop Heber speaks of "two hours' squabbling" with the boat-people when he was setting out on his tour of visitation. I found some trouble both with the budgerow people and the freight or cook-boatmen. The former refused to *cook* on the boat, insisting on being permitted to cook on the budgerow—which, from the nature of the ingredients which they use, and from the smoke, would have been very disagreeable. After they found that this point could not be gained, which, however, they did not yield until the matter was carried before the Agents from whom I had hired the boats, then the people of the other boat set up a great jabbering about the place in their boat which should be assigned to the budgerow people for cooking. The ostensible ground of the difficulty in both cases was the fear of losing *caste;* which was merely a pretext, the true reason being a regard to their own convenience. The evils of caste in this country are visible in a thousand forms. One of these is in reference to the place of their cooking their food. Each caste must cook by itself—eat by itself. We have now *three* places for cooking on the cook-boat; one for me, at which also the servants cook; and one each for the crews of the two boats. One thing was obvious in these disputes, that mild firmness in our intercourse with these poor natives is quite important. I believe they entertain more respect for me

now, than if I had yielded to all their demands. We started with the tide; but made no progress, as the wind was strongly against us, and were obliged to "come to," after two or three hours of hard work.

July 26.—Started again with the tide about three P. M., but did not make much progress, mooring a few miles above Chitpur—five or six miles distance. The boatmen seem a strong, active set of young men; and are thus far disposed to be very obliging. But they are very ready to take every opportunity of imposing on the ignorance or weakness of the "Sahib." Two incidents occurred to-day illustrating this remark. In the afternoon the Manjhí, or headman, came with great respect, to ask for twenty rupees, to be repaid at Cawnpore. He knew very well that his wages were to be paid by the Agents, not by me, and therefore wished me to *lend* him the money. But I happened to know, that if he got possession of any sum, however small, I should have much trouble, and little hope of getting it back again; and so declined granting his request. Soon after, one of the men came to beg a rupee, telling me that it was *dusturí*, *customary*. Again, I happened to know better. It is recommended to make them occasionally a present of a basket of fish, which gratifies them more than the money paid for the fish.

July 27.—Started early, hoping to reach Serampore by sun-rise. Serampore is a small Danish settlement, about fifteen miles above Calcutta, on the opposite side of the Hoogley. It has more of a European appearance than most towns in India, and stretches nearly a mile along the river's bank, but is of no great breadth. Every thing now wears

the aspect of decay; though formerly it was a place of some importance.

The Serampore Baptists are known among all the churches, as the earliest missionaries to this part of India, and as formerly so extensively engaged in translating and publishing the Scriptures. It is any thing but agreeable to have to add, that the operations of this society seem to be on the decline, as well as the town in which its headquarters are established. It is ascribed partly to the want of funds. At Serampore there are three European ministers, including Dr. Marshman; and there are some other Europeans connected with the Press. The former are occupied partly with a kind of College, to prepare young men for the missionary service. There is a fine college edifice, and a good collection of books; but not many students. I believe a number of the missionaries employed by this Society received their instruction here. If I have been correctly informed, the greater part of the Serampore missionaries, at the subordinate stations, are East-Indians—good men, and, from their intimate knowledge of the native language, and their ability to endure the heat of the climate, well adapted for usefulness. I may here add further, that I have not had opportunity to become acquainted with many of these brethren. One or two, whom I saw, I thought excellent missionaries. But I have no doubt, from all I have heard, that their usefulness would be greatly promoted by their spending some time in a Christian country, such as England or the United States, while pursuing their studies. It is difficult for those who have been born and brought up in a heathen country, even though under the best auspices, to form those clear and enlarged conceptions

of the nature and advantages of Christianity, and of civilization in general, which a residence in a Christian land would almost certainly afford opportunities of forming. I do not mean to say, that *some* of the missionaries of this class are not equal or superior to some European missionaries; but only, that the former would be much benefitted by enjoying the advantages of the latter. One of the Church Society's missionaries is an East-Indian, who had the advantages of a residence for some time in England; and he is now regarded as one of the most efficient missionaries in the Presidency. The Serampore missionaries have English services on the Sabbath at two or three European stations not many miles distant; and they have also the superintendence and direction of the various branches of the Serampore mission. Dr. Marshman is now rather an aged man. He is almost the only aged missionary I know, and stands like a venerable oak in the forest.

On the opposite side of the river is Barrackpore, a large Military Village, where the native soldiers (called Sepoys, from the word Sipahi—a soldier) attached to the Presidency-Division of the army, have their quarters. Sepoys form much the greatest part of the British army in India. They are always commanded by English officers, and make excellent soldiers. At Barrackpore, the Governor-General has a country residence. There is a small church also, and a chaplain.

July 28.—Started again in the clear moonlight about three o'clock, A. M., and in the early part of the afternoon reached Chinsurah, twenty-two miles by water. The boatmen "tracked," a good part of the way, that is, six or seven men went on shore, and, pulling with a long rope, drew the boat

along at the rate of about two miles an hour. It is hard work; as the poor fellows have to cross nullahs, or arms of the river, frequently so deep as to require them to swim, and to walk often knee-deep in mud, all the time exposed to a hot sun. They relieve each other every hour by twos; that is, two of the men from on board the boat take the place of two who have been longest on shore. In order to have sufficient *purchase* in pulling, they take a very long rope; and, to keep this rope from becoming entangled by the bushes, and from dragging heavily through the water, they make it fast, about fifteen feet above the deck, to the mast. As a considerable part of the vessel in the water is in advance of the place to which the rope is attached, when the current happens to be very strong, there is great danger that the prow will be forced to one side, or to the other, owing to the smallness of the rudder; and then there is still greater danger that the boat will be pulled, by the men at the rope, on its "beam-ends," as the sailors say—on its side, and go down to the bottom. I describe the process minutely; for my most frequent dangers, and some of the greatest, were from this source. In many places, the current dashes along with immense force at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour. The "trackers," bent almost to the ground, strain every nerve to pull the boat. The prow suddenly veers from the right direction; the boat is already half on its side; all on board sing out as loudly as possible to the men on shore to slacken the rope; and, if they hear in time, all may be well enough; but if not, the danger is very imminent that every thing will be lost, except the lives of the reckless boat-people, who seem to be an almost amphibious race. It would be no easy

matter to drown one of them. When the wind is not favourable, "tracking" is the common mode of getting along; as they hardly ever make use of the long awkward oars. Of course, it is a very tedious mode of travelling. When the wind is favourable, they spread sail, contriving to fasten two or three sails, one above another, to the single mast in the centre of the boat. A strong wind will carry the boat against the current from twenty to thirty miles a-day; the distance varying as the channel may accord with the direction of the wind. From June to October, the wind usually blows from the S. E., though not without intervals of contrary winds, or of no wind at all. From October to March, the wind is from the N. W.

A few miles above Serampore is Chandernagore, a French settlement. The town is not very large, and is not prosperous; though formerly it was a place of considerable importance. The tricoloured flag was flying, and guns were fired every half hour, the day I passed—I suppose in commemoration of the "three-days' revolution" in 1830. Chinsurah was originally a Dutch settlement. It is not a place of much commerce now. The situation of these three foreign settlements—Serampore, Chandernagore, and Chinsurah—until recently, in the midst of the British territory, is rather singular. They are regarded by the English authorities, I believe, as islands, and the same general policy is pursued towards them that would be pursued towards Danish, French, and Dutch Islands in the ocean. Each place has its own Governor appointed by its respective king. But since Calcutta has engrossed the commerce of this part of India, the duties of these Governors are chiefly to administer the local government of their respective

towns—a very insignificant sphere of operation. At Chinsurah there is one missionary under the London Missionary Society, who has the charge of several schools.

July 29.—Started about five o'clock, and after toiling hard for twelve hours, most of the time at the rope, the men moored at a small village of fifteen or twenty cottages. This village is in the midst of the jungle, or waste, uncultivated land; which is here covered chiefly with tall, rank grass. The people are cowherds; and not one of them can read. By way of excuse, one of them told me they were Bengalís, and there were no Bengalí books. He was probably ignorant enough not to know any better. We made about twenty miles. The banks of the river are becoming higher, and I even saw an elevation like a very low hill. Cocoa-nut trees are not numerous. Heretofore, the banks of the river, when not cultivated, are covered with a very dense, luxurious growth of underwood, among which the cocoa-nut, raising its straight trunk, without limb or leaf, except the tuft of long leaves at the top, forms a very prominent object.

Saw a few English-looking houses to-day, occupied by indigo-planters; and passed one large church, much like some of the churches in Madeira. It was at Bandell, an old Portuguese town, where, it is said, there is also a monastery. Hoogley is close by Bandell, and is an ancient native town, where formerly the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Danes, had each a factory. In 1632, the first serious quarrels between the Moguls and Europeans occurred at this town. The Portuguese lost sixty-four large ships, (on one of which were two thousand persons, who, with all their property, were blown up,) fifty grabs, and

nearly two hundred sloops. The river at that time must have been more favourable for navigation than it is at present. Such a fleet could not now come thus far up the river. The town of Hoogley is still large and populous; and is prosperous, being the seat of considerable native trade. It is an important place for a missionary station, especially if it could be occupied by a well educated *native* missionary.

July 30.—Started at five, and at ten was not more than fifteen minutes' walk from the place whence we set out, though we had made several miles. The river makes a remarkable bend at this place. Stopped for the night at Culna, a large and prosperous native town. I understood that the Church Missionary Society support a Catechist at this town, who has charge of a school; but he was not at home, and I did not learn any particulars. By a large native town, I mean a town of several thousand inhabitants. It is extremely difficult to form a correct estimate of native population; but I should think that Culna contains ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants. As usual, I took some tracts to distribute during my walk on shore, if I should meet with persons who could read. It is, however, but a very small proportion of these people who are able to read; perhaps not one person out of fifty. I gave three tracts this evening to different persons, who were very willing to receive them. One of the men, a Brahman, soon came to me for another tract, telling me he had given the first one to his "brother," the common phrase for friend.

July 31.—Moored, this evening, just below the junction of the Bhagirathí and Jellinghí rivers—branches of the Ganges, which here unite and form

the Hoogley. On the opposite side of the river is Nuddea, a native town of some size, which was formerly the seat of considerable Brahmanical learning; though, at present, few traces of it are said to remain. The district of the same name, in 1802, contained, in a territory of about three thousand square miles, upwards of eight hundred thousand people. It is supposed the number is now much greater. In the adjoining district of Burdwan, the population amounted to six hundred persons, on the average, to a square mile.

August 5.—For two or three days, including the last date, the wind was quite unfavourable; so that we were obliged to lie to, without attempting to make any progress. On Sabbath, 3d, the wind increased to a violent gale, causing large waves on the river, which is here deep and broad. We were unfortunately moored to the lee-shore; so that the wind both pushed the boats against the shore, and the waves against the boats. The wind had been unfavourable for two or three days previous, but on Sunday it increased to a violent gale, and it soon became evident that we should have difficulty to save the boats from being wrecked. In the other budgerow were a gentleman, his wife, and their children. The lady becoming alarmed, insisted on leaving the boat, and it was well they did so, for it sunk under the fury of the waves in a few minutes after they left it. Several native vessels, and my freight boat, in which were several large boxes of things, shared the same fate. I had most of the valuable articles taken out of the budgerow, and with great difficulty it was just saved; but as the rain was pouring down in torrents, and the wind was very high, the books were much injured, the other articles also damaged

more or less, and I got, of course, after three hours' hard work in the rain, completely tired and wet.

A kind English family happened to reside in the neighbourhood, who received us kindly, and provided dry clothing, &c.—This was one of two special circumstances, deserving sincere gratitude; the prejudices of the natives prevent their receiving foreigners into their houses, and there are very few English families in that section of the country—not one in twenty miles. The exposure might have proved injurious, if it had been necessary to remain unsheltered, in wet clothes, during the dreadful stormy night which succeeded. The other cause of thankfulness was that the gale did not come on during the night, as in that case every thing would have been lost, and probably our lives also. The gale was very general, and occasioned great loss of property, and the loss of many lives. I hope to recover the greater part of my pecuniary loss from the Insurance Office.

The travelling on this river is, almost at every season of the year, attended with danger. The boats, even those for the accommodation of English people, as budgerows and pinnaces, are awkwardly built on a more awkward model, (at least the former)—the boatmen are unskilful and reckless—during the rains, though you have usually a fine wind, yet you must stem a strong current—at other times you are in danger from north-westers, &c. &c. Every year many boats are lost. I have heard of two budgerows being entirely lost since I left, and I have several times seen that it was the almost direct power of the Lord that saved mine from the same fate, when rapid currents, contrary wind, sails miserably managed, and inefficient

boatmen, seemed almost to make certain such a result.

August 6 *and* 7.—Arrived at Cutwa on the evening of the 6th, and was detained near that town all the next day by contrary winds. Cutwa is a native town of some size, about seventy-five miles direct distance from Calcutta. There is a Baptist missionary here, Mr. Carey, a son of Dr. Carey. There is a school under the care of Mrs. Carey, and a small church of native converts.

August 9.—Reached Berhampore in time to spend the Sabbath among Christians—a great privilege. This town consists of two parts, as do most of the towns where the English have stations; the one for European residents, the other for natives. These two classes are seldom found dwelling together, or in the same street. The reason is, that their mode of living, kind of houses, customs, &c., are so widely different, that each class finds it more convenient to have their own quarters in the town or city. I mention this circumstance, because I am inclined to think it has some bearing on the usefulness of missionaries. Dwelling usually in the same parts of the place with their countrymen, they are perhaps too much identified with them; and less opportunity is afforded to the natives to profit by their example silently operating under continued observation. There is probably, however, less truth in this remark at Berhampore than at most stations, as the missionaries reside near the native part of the town. In general, also, it should be stated, that the missionaries have really little choice about the matter; as it is seldom practicable to obtain a house in the native part of the town which would

afford any accommodation for an English family. Indeed, if it were practicable, it might in many cases be inexpedient, owing to the danger of injury to health from the crowded, dirty, narrow streets, which characterize most native towns. Yet, where a house at all suitable and eligible could be procured, I think the advantages of intercourse and of example would be greater, and should never be overlooked. Berhampore is a military station, where, in addition to a regiment of Sepoys, there is a regiment of European soldiers, probably eight hundred or one thousand men.

The London Missionary Society have two missionaries at this place; who find employment in the native town, which is not very large, and in tours through the towns, and villages in the country around. They have two or three schools, partly under care of their wives, for teaching the elementary branches of the native language; and there is a small orphan asylum. One of the missionaries has an English service, on Sabbath evening, in a neat chapel. There are no native converts at present, I believe, or but two or three. This mission was commenced about ten or twelve years ago.—On Sabbath, I went with Mr. H. into the bazar, whither he usually goes every day to make known the Gospel. A *bazar* corresponds to the streets of our cities and towns where the stores of merchants are kept. The part of the building next to the street is appropriated as a kind of open shop, in which various commodities, commonly of but little aggregate value, are exposed to sale. During business hours, the bazars are generally full of people, buying and selling.—Mr. H. took his station at one side of one of the principal streets, under shade of a house; and, addressing a native who

seemed to have little to do, he began to read a tract aloud. Seeing a "Sahib" thus employed, numbers of those who were passing to and fro, stopped to listen, until we were surrounded by forty or fifty people—men, women of the lower classes, and boys. Some staid for a few minutes, and then pursued their way. Others staid longer, and some staid all the time. Some seemed to listen from curiosity; some with seriousness; all respectfully. After reading a few pages, Mr. H. made a short address, to which occasionally some gave assent; and then he distributed a small bundle of tracts, which all seemed very eager to obtain. Several were disappointed. The scene was one of much interest to me.

August 12.—After receiving much kindness from the missionary brethren and other Christian friends, I started from Berhampore and reached Moorshedabad. This city was formerly the Capital of Bengal; and is still a very large place, stretching five or six miles along the east shore of the river. It is, however, greatly on the decline. Multitudes of the mud hovels are going to ruin, a process which in this climate is very rapid, where the materials are so perishable. There are few good buildings in Moorshedabad, and scarcely any now building. A very extensive palace, which is now building for the nabob, is almost the only new public edifice I saw. There are a number of temples and mosques; but they wear the aspect of neglect and decay. The nabob of Bengal, who resides here, receives a large pension from the Company, instead of Sovereignty. He is said to be a young man of exceedingly dissipated habits; so that his influence amongst his countrymen is very injurious. He takes little interest in political

matters, and is anxious apparently only to live a luxurious, sensual life.

Moorshedabad is the seat of considerable native trade; and, in this neighbourhood, it is said a greater amount of silk is woven into different fabrics than at any other place. It is also the head-quarters of a circuit court; but the magistrates reside at Berhampore, nine miles below. The London Missionary Society have recently sent a Catechist to this place; but no particular results are yet manifest from his efforts. The missionaries at Berhampore occasionally visit it. It seems to require much greater attention from the Christian world than it has yet received. But that is too true of many cities in India. A large proportion of the people of this place are Mussulmans.

August 10.—Our progress for several days has been very slow, owing to light winds, which afforded little aid in stemming the rapid current of the river. While slowly toiling along this afternoon, two of the nabob's pleasure boats passed us. They are of a singular structure, very long, very narrow, built almost on the model of a large Indian canoe; but with very high prow and stern, which were richly ornamented. A highly finished awning was spread over the middle of the boats, affording a screen for two or three persons from the sun. The rest of the boats, fore and aft, was occupied by rowers, to the number of thirty or forty to each boat. These rowers kept admirable time; as they lifted their paddles out of the water, quickly performed a circuit with them through the air, raising them above their heads, and then all, at the same moment, striking them into the water again; thus propelling the boats seven or eight miles an hour against the current. They formed

a great contrast to the awkward budgerow, slowly moving along by the shore.

To-day, I passed Jungipore, the greatest silk station of the East India Company. Hamilton remarks, that "the buildings were erected here in 1773, and in 1803 about three thousand persons were employed. They use the Italian method of spinning. The mulberry tree is the oriental; it is dwarfish, and the leaves but indifferent; to which is attributed a degeneracy in the breeds that have been introduced from foreign countries."

August 17, *Lord's Day.*—Lay to, at a native village, a short distance above Jungipore. A number of people, hearing that there was a "Padre Sahib" who gave away tracts, came to ask for them; and I suppose I gave one to nearly every person in the town who was able to read. A Brahman set the example, though at first evidently at the expense of some struggles between his pride and his curiosity; but afterwards, he brought a number of others of the same caste. It is a cause of thankfulness, that they are willing to receive and to read our religious books.—Some very pleasing boys interested me much. They belonged to families in the higher classes; had fine, animated, intelligent countenances; and were much gratified by a tract to each one; which they read with great fluency, and which they forthwith ran to show to their parents. They reminded me of some of my former Sunday School scholars. Would, that these heathen boys were as highly favoured!

From this place, I had a distant view of the Raj-mahal Hills, the sight of which was very grateful to the eye, wearied with the sameness of the dead level country of Bengal. From this village our next day's sail was over what Bishop Heber

would call "a miserable drowned country." Frequently nothing was to be seen in any direction but water, with the exception of an occasional village or slightly elevated ground, and perhaps the tops of a few straggling low trees. In such places the current is very slow; as its force is lost in the dispersion of the overflowing waters. The water of the Ganges, and of course, of all its outlets, is extremely muddy. I have heard it said, that the clayey sediment held in solution during the rainy season, is estimated at one-third of the bulk of water. Much of this sediment is deposited on the land which is overflowed, and forms a very rich manure in which, after the waters subside, and under a hot sun, the extensive crops of rice and *dal* luxuriate with great delight, at least to the owners. We made fast, for the night, to a tree in the midst of the waters, and found, the next morning, that the river had subsided a little during the night.

CHAPTER VII.

VOYAGE ON THE GANGES CONTINUED.

The great Ganges — Raj-mahal Hills — Mussulmans and Hindus, compared—Anecdote of Caste—Danger from a gale—Bhagulpore—Spirit of lying—Native boatmen—Monghir—Patna—Dinapore.

August 19.—After passing through a narrow channel between lofty trees on each shore, and then for a few miles through an open country, we entered

on the Burra Gunga of the natives, the main branch of the Ganges. The river is here, at this season of the year, from three to four miles wide, and presents truly a grand appearance. The idea of irresistible power is strongly impressed on the mind of the observer. The mighty river rolls along in majesty, rapidly, but tranquilly, as if regardless of all the world besides. It is one of God's greatest works; and the innumerable native boats, which are seen sailing close by the shore, render the contrast between his works and the works of man very striking. The latter are little, feeble, and apparently in constant dread of the overwhelming power of the river in whose waters they venture to sail. The boatmen seemed to feel themselves in the presence of one of the gods of their countrymen, but, being Mussulmans, they only poured some water on the prow of the boat, and then repeated with double energy their usual prayer to "Allah, 'la 'la 'la-h." I do not wonder that the ignorant mind of the heathen should become superstitious on beholding this vast body of waters.

This may be a proper place to introduce some notices of a river whose sacredness is so great in India, and whose fame is so widely spread through other lands. I take them chiefly from Hamilton. The course of the Ganges is on the southern side of the great Himalaya range of mountains. It has been traced to a short distance above the place of Hindu pilgrimage, Gangoutri. Two miles above this place is the "Cow's Mouth," about which the natives have various fables. It is merely a large stone in the middle of the river, of which a part projects above the water; and, with the aid of a lively fancy, may be supposed to resemble the

mouth of that sacred animal. The pilgrimage of Gangoutri is considered a great exertion of Hindu devotion; and is supposed to redeem the performer from troubles in this world, and to insure a happy transit through all the transmigrations that await him hereafter. "After issuing from the mountains near Hurdwar, Lat. 29° 57′, long. 78° 2′ East, to the conflux with the Jumna at Allahabad, the first large river that joins it, the bed of the Ganges is generally from a mile to one and a quarter wide. From hence its course becomes more winding, until after receiving the Gogra, the Soane, and other smaller streams, its channel attains its full width, which in some parts is three miles across. When at the lowest, it is commonly about three-fourths of a mile in width." During the rains, the width is of course greatly increased; as the Ganges rises about thirty-two feet, and the banks are low, and the country level for a great part of its course; so that the waters spread widely over the face of the land. The Ganges appears to owe its increase as much to the melting of the snow and the rains on the mountains, as to the rains which fall on the plains; for it rises fifteen feet out of thirty-two by the latter end of June, and the rainy season does not fully begin in the most of the flat countries until about that time.

"About two hundred miles from the sea the Delta commences. The two most western branches, the Cossimbazar, or Bhagirathí, and Jellinghí rivers, unite and form the Hoogley, the only branch of the Ganges generally navigated by ships. That part of the Delta bordering on the sea is composed of a labyrinth of rivers and creeks, named the Sunderbunds, which, including the rivers that bound it, give an expansion of two hundred miles

to the branches of the Ganges at its junction with the sea." The whole course is fifteen hundred miles. "By the latter end of July, all the lower parts of Bengal contiguous to the Ganges and Brahmaputra are overflowed, and form an inundation of more than one hundred miles in width, nothing appearing but villages and trees. At five hundred miles from the sea the channel is thirty-nine feet deep when the river is at the lowest; which depth continues nearly to the sea; but the outlet of the main branch is obstructed by sandbars. In the dry season, the mean rate of motion of the current is less than three miles an hour; in the wet season, five or six; and, at some places, seven or eight. Taking the medium of the whole year, the quantity of the water discharged is nearly one hundred and eighty thousand feet per second of time.

"It is only that part of the river which lies in a line between Gangoutri, where its feeble stream issues from the Himalaya snows, to Saugor Island below Calcutta, that is particularly sacred in the eyes of the Hindu. The Hoogley river, therefore, of Europeans is considered the true Ganges. Particular places are esteemed more eminently holy than the rest; and to these pilgrims resort from a distance, to perform their ablutions, and to obtain the water that is used in their ceremonies. The chief of these are the five Prayags, or holy junctions of rivers, of which Allahabad is the principal, and by way of distinction is named '*Prayag*.' Including these Prayags, there are nine especially holy places on this river."

Having a moderate wind, the boat-people were anxious to go on until a later hour than usual, there being moonlight, though obscured by passing clouds. Accordingly, we sailed along the edge of

the river until after eight o'clock. The country seemed to be extensively covered with water; and where the land appeared, it was so saturated with the rains that had fallen as to afford no firm ground for making the boat fast for the night—which is done by means of ropes attached to several stakes driven into the ground. At last, the men moored the boat at a place which they thought might suit. About the middle of the night, I heard them making a great noise; and, on going out, found that the fastenings were giving way, while the wind had become very high, and a densely black cloud was threatening a furious gale. No time was to be lost; and, with all hands hard at work, we got the boat moved a short distance and made fast at another place. If the moorings had not been discovered giving way in time, there would have been little hope of being saved. As it was, the danger was very great.

August 20.—Approached Raj-mahal. Thera nge of hills which bear that name have been in sight for two or three days. They resemble some of the Allegheny Mountains, and their appearance is very beautiful. Their general direction is southward from this place, though inclining a good deal to the east. Their range above the town of Raj-mahal is quite to the westward of north. The river washes their base from a considerable distance above to this town; but soon afterwards its waters, as if wearied with the fruitless effort to remove these mountains, roll away in an easterly direction.

These hills are inhabited by a distinct race of people, called Paharís, which simply means hill-people. They are supposed by many to be the aboriginal inhabitants. They have no idols, and

pay a much greater regard to truth than the Hindus. Their mode of life is less refined; their language is different, and has not been reduced to writing. A Baptist missionary from Munghír has made one or two excursions among them; and speaks favourably of their candour and willingness to listen to his sentiments concerning the true religion. Their number cannot be very great. Raj-mahal was formerly the residence of royalty, and some old palaces still remain, but in a state of great decay. The present town contains perhaps a few thousand inhabitants. The people begin to wear an appearance less effeminate than that which characterizes the Bengalís.

August 21.—Passed Sicly Gully and Pír Pontí —both of them places to which the attention of the traveller on this river is directed as possessing novelty, no small recommendation where there is so much sameness in every thing as in this region of India. The former was once a celebrated pass, commanding the entrance from Bahar into Bengal. There is a fine view of the hills and of the river from this place. Pír Pontí is the name given to a detached hill, on account of a Mussulman saint, Father, or St. Pontí, who was buried there. There is also a small but rather neat Hindu temple to Maha Dev, about half way up the hill, which is conspicuous and pleasing in its appearance. It stands on a little knob jutting out from the hill, while on each side, below and above, the deep green of the dense woods contrasts strongly with the white walls of the temple. I have often admired the beauty of the sites chosen for these little temples to Maha Dev. They are often overshadowed by the peepul tree (ficus religiosa) which is sacred to Shiva; and almost invariably some trees of that species are planted in the vicinity.

It is very common, especially in towns of some size, to see the holy places of Hindus and Mussulmans thus immediately in contact. You see a temple at one corner, and a mosque at the next. But, in the smaller towns, it is more common to find each class distinct; either all Mussulmans or all Hindus. The average proportion of Hindus who are followers of Mohammed to those who worship idols is said to be about one to ten. The further to the northwest we go, the larger does the proportion of Mussulmans become. In the "Upper Provinces," (as they are termed,) as Oude, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, &c., I understand, that the more respectable, that is, the more wealthy and intelligent inhabitants, are generally Mussulmans. In the Western, or Rajput Provinces, Hinduism is said greatly to predominate. This is easily to be accounted for; as those regions were never so entirely subject to the rule of the Patan and Mogul conquerors as were the Upper Provinces. The two classes, in the Lower Provinces, resemble each other in ignorance, in vice, and rigid adherence to *caste*. They differ chiefly in the external mode of worship; though among the great mass of the people, their observances are, in both cases, an unintelligible round of ceremonies, alike unmeaning and useless. The two best things in the Hindu religion seem to be the ablutions, or rather bathings, and the prohibition of most kinds of animal food—regulations which are certainly useful in a hot climate like this; as they secure a certain degree of cleanliness and of temperance. These are both wanting in the Mussulman system: yet custom secures the former, and poverty the latter. On the whole, I am disposed to think, at present, that there is not much difference be-

tween the two systems in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, in their effects on the morals or the minds of their votaries. Probably the Mussulman part of the community have some advantages over their neighbours in being permitted to keep fowls, &c. Small as this item is, it is a privilege of considerable importance among a people so very poor, and so very densely settled.

It is rather singular to see the Mussulmans so tenacious of *caste*. My boat-people and servants are all Mussulmans; and yet I have to be as careful not to pollute their food by touching it in any way as if they were Hindus. A little terrier dog, given to me by a lady at Berhampore, and which is quite a favourite amongst the men, gave great offence one afternoon. Having swam from the shore, when he got on deck he very naturally shook off the water, and a drop or two fell on the servants *chipatis*, flat cakes of bread, which they were just getting ready for their dinner. Forthwith, a clamour was raised; the little dog scampered off to the cabin; and the poor cakes of bread, pitched overboard by the men with much indignation, floated away piteously on the water. This prevalence of *caste* among both classes seems to show that it is a civil institution in some sense, though invented by the Brahmans; or rather, perhaps, that the Mussulmans in India retain, in some degree, the religious character of their heathen countrymen. The latter inference is no doubt correct in itself, whether it be drawn from their attachment to caste or not. And, in regard to the former, in India the civil and social institutions, as well as the literature of the country, are interwoven inseparably with the religious system that prevails. And this it is which opposes such a barrier to the

progress of Christianity. To forsake their religion is to give up their connection with the social framework of society, with the literature of the community, and even with the common rights of citizens, where some other power than Hindu is not interposed to protect them. It is to become a foreigner in the midst of one's own country; a stranger in one's own neighbourhood; an enemy, hated and despised, in one's own family. It is really no wonder, therefore, that there has been so little numerical progress of Christianity in India. The actual progress in the weakening of former attachments and prejudices, and in the diffusion of light, is supposed by all competent judges to be very great.

Leaving Pír Pontí, we sailed over a broad expanse of water, in order to get to the other side; for the boatmen on this river seldom steer their boats into the middle of the channel, but creep along close by the shore. At the place where we crossed, the river is probably three or four miles wide. While in the middle of the channel, a gale sprung up suddenly, and struck the boat on the foreside, coming partly in the same course as the current. The consequence was, that we were carried obliquely down the current with fearful rapidity for two or three miles, until all at once we were "brought to" by being dashed violently against the low shore. The shock was so great that it was with difficulty I could keep on my feet; while chairs, books, plates, pitchers, glasses, were scattered over the cabin floor in great confusion. I felt extremely grateful to the kind Providence which preserved us. Often in such sudden gales, boats founder at once, and all on board frequently perish.

The scenery on the south side of the river, in this place, is very beautiful. A low range of irregular hills stretches along for several miles, among which the eye is perfectly rejoiced to see some pretty little brooks hastening to pay their tribute to the great river. How beautiful the Scripture language about "living water," that is, not standing pools, but running streams, than which there is no more refreshing and beautiful object in the eastern countries. Their water is fresh and pure, ever flowing, and free to all, the poor and the rich; while in the tanks or pools, and in the cisterns or wells, the water is usually stagnant and extremely dirty; and frequently is accessible only to a limited number. God is our fountain of "living water," and Christ has promised his Holy Spirit to be as "rivers of living water." The allusion, we may suppose, is to the flowing streams that watered Palestine; though the meaning or sense relates to higher blessings than earth can afford.

On the opposite side of the river, the country is as flat and uninteresting as usual. Here, as elsewhere, large herds of buffaloes are to be seen grazing, under the care of a few poorly clad herdsmen. These animals are all of a dark colour, a good deal larger than the common cow, with semicircular horns projecting backward along the neck, and not so crooked as those of a ram, though resembling them in other respects. The buffaloes in this country seem to take as much pleasure in wallowing in a pond of mud and water as the less honoured swine. Frequently in passing along, a person may see the noses and horns of many hundreds of them sticking up out of the water, in which they delight to remain during the hot part of the day. They are used, as are cows, in plough-

ing, harrowing, and carrying burdens. Their milk also is much used, but it is deemed a coarser fare than that of the cow.

August 22.—Above Bhagulpore, we left the main body of water to the left, and passed several miles up a channel that has been formed within a few years, and which is much more direct. It is now a large river, and will most probably become the highway of the Ganges in a few years. Owing to the kind of soil, such changes are constantly taking place. One of the greatest obstacles to the navigation of this river by steamboats is the constant changing of the channel and formation of new sand bars, so that the most experienced pilot hardly knows where to guide his vessel; while the muddy nature of the water renders useless any effort to *see* his way. By having left the principal channel, I was deprived of the opportunity of seeing, except at a great distance, the Rocks of —— Two of them rise up out of the channel to a considerable length; and are not only remarkable in a river where sameness is the general characteristic, but form rather a dangerous pass for boats, as the current is said to form violent eddies around them.

Bhagulpore is an English civil station; that is, it is the residence of an English collector, perhaps, judge, surgeon, and probably a few other officers, who collect the revenue of the district, and administer justice. Often the civil and military stations are at the same place; though frequently this is not the case. The town is not large, but presents a pleasing appearance at the distance of two or three miles, from which I saw it; as there are a number of large houses, and the situation is rather elevated.

August 23.—A trifling incident attracted my

notice, as affording an illustration of the spirit of lying which pervades, according to all testimony, the entire Hindu people. Our boat was moored with several others in the same place, and a number of men were busy on the shore preparing their dinner. A fowl made its escape from the coop on one of the boats, and, taking its flight in a little circle in the presence of the people, happened to alight near an old grey-headed man, who was cleaving wood. A boy ran after this stray chicken to bring it back, when the old man ordered him off, roundly asserting that the fowl was his, and had escaped from his boat; though he was a Hindu, to whom it would have been worse than death to have eaten the unclean bird for which he was so willing to tell a lie. The other people did not give up their right; but the incident seemed to be looked on as a matter of course.

August 25.—Have made little progress for several days, on account of strong current and no wind. We are now lying below Jangera, one of the few places of note on this river. It is remarkable for two large rocks which project out some distance into the river, and are distant from each other about one hundred yards. On the top of one is built a mosque, and on the other a temple. The former is now in ruins.

August 26.—At our place of mooring this evening there were many native boats, and I counted nearly a hundred people belonging to them. Only one man among them all could read the tracts I offered, and he very imperfectly; and yet in each boat there is usually one or two respectable men. These boats are commonly laden with return cargoes of various native goods and wares from Calcutta to different places up the country. The head

man of one of the boats came to tell me he had some English goods to sell. Feeling a curiosity to know of what description they were, I went on board, and found a box of old Windsor soap and a cracked bottle of arrow root. The rest of his cargo was entirely native. The chief articles in the native trade seem to be salt, rice, various kinds of pulse, cotton, coarse cotton fabrics, sugar, mustard, oil, &c. We frequently see boats laden with earthen-ware crocks; and, less frequently now than lower down, many boats employed in carrying the indigo plant, which looks somewhat like long coarse grass, to the nearest factory. Many boats are filled with European stores for the various stations up the country. These boats are always hired, freighted, and insured by some mercantile house in Calcutta.

One is surprised at the lowness of the wages paid to the boatmen. It is indeed wonderful that they can live and support their families on such terms. The general wages are three rupees per month to the men, equal to a dollar and a half of American money, and four to the manjhe, or head man; out of which they must purchase their own food and clothing, and pay all their expenses of every kind; as they have no other means of support. And although these poor fellows work at a great disadvantage, on account of their very awkward boats, and still more rude means of propelling them; yet, bating something for the irregular habits of heathen, I have scarcely ever seen harder working men. I almost daily see them working from sunrise until sunset, pulling, pushing, wading sometimes in mud, often in water above their waist, exposed all the time to an intensely hot sun; and their only reward is a pittance which enables them

to buy their rice to eat, and their tobacco or their opium to smoke in their huka, and perhaps once in six months, a kapra for a new suit of clothes; that is, a piece of coarse cotton muslin, two or three yards long by three-fourths of a yard wide. The boatmen of the Ganges deserve great commiseration. They are a peaceful, hard-working, and obliging race; but they are compelled to live nearly at the lowest point of human subsistence. Their minds are perfectly blank as to all elevating knowledge; their morals are what might be expected, where human nature is left utterly unilluminated by the Gospel, and uncultivated by good agency of any kind; and their prospects as to the future world afford nothing whatever to support them under the hardships, or comfort them under the sorrows, of their existence in this life.

August 27.—Reached Munghír. For the last eight or ten miles, the river has been separated into various channels, so that, at the place where we were moored last night, the broadest was not more than a quarter of a mile. Just before reaching this town, the new iron steamboat, which was launched a few months ago at Calcutta, passed the budgerow, bound to Allahabad. This is said to be the second time a steamer has attempted to ascend any distance on the Ganges, and the first attempt to go up so great a distance. I have already mentioned some of the difficulties attending the navigation of this river. It is thought rather doubtful by many, whether the efforts now making to introduce steamboats, will prove very successful. This vessel moves at rather a slow rate against the current. But it is a small-sized boat, and has in tow a baggage-boat, as large as the steamer itself.

Munghír presents a very pleasing appearance, as a person approaches it from the river. It stands on a kind of promontory, at the south-east extremity of an island formed by the river, and its situation is elevated—an advantage possessed by few Indian towns. It was formerly a place of considerable strength, in the wars between native kings; and the extensive walls of the fort, which are yet remaining, must have proved almost impregnable to a native army. Its aspect now is more peaceful and more pleasing, as the fort has been allowed to go to decay, and some good looking European houses have been erected on the high knolls in its enclosure; while the native town seems to be prospering, and the people to be driving an active business in the various kinds of iron manufactures, for which this place has long been celebrated. Fowling-pieces, pistols, kettles, knives, &c., are made with great neatness, and at low prices, but are said to be apt to break, on account of the bad materials from which they are made.

There is a branch of the Baptist mission at this place, and two Baptist missionaries, with their families. One of them is actively employed in various efforts to extend the Gospel among the heathen, and has a small church of native converts —about twenty, I think he told me. There is also an English service on Sundays, and on one or two evenings during the week. Munghír is two hundred and seventy-five miles by land from Calcutta, and probably four hundred miles by the river.

August 30.—A few miles below Bahar. We are fully entered into the great plain of Hindusthan, or Hindusthan Proper. A pleasing range of hills, the Gorruckpore, were in sight the two first days after leaving Munghír. But now, I may bid

farewell to hills for many hundred miles to come. The banks of the river have presented an almost continuous succession of villages; and the people are a hardier and more manly looking race than the Bengalís. The province of Bahar, which forms the western boundary of Bengal, is one of the largest in this Presidency. The soil is of a drier nature, and the climate is said to be more temperate, than in Bengal, though the hot winds from the westward extend over part of this province. In some parts the proportion between the Mussulmans and Hindus is one of the former to three of the latter. The celebrated place of Hindu pilgrimage, Guya, is in the south part of this province, about fifty miles south from Patna. Formerly the East India Company collected an annual sum equal to eighty thousand dollars, from a small tax on each pilgrim. It derives its holiness from having been the birth-place of some of the gods. This is the chief region of the opium and saltpetre manufactures; and instead of the immense fields of rice which tire the eye in Bengal, we now begin to see wheat and barley. The town of Bahar, or Bar, is an old and ruinous looking place, but of considerable size, thirty-five miles south-east from Patna.

September 1.—Having had a fine wind, and the course of the river being very direct from Bar, I reached Patna this morning—about three hundred and seventy miles by land, and five hundred or five hundred and fifty by water, from Calcutta. The appearance of this city from the river is certainly superior to that of most India towns I have yet seen. It is built chiefly along one street, on the south bank of the river which is here more than usually elevated above the water; and many

of the houses are quite large, constructed of brick, and abutting on the river. Yet a nearer view shows that many of the buildings are going to ruin, while scarcely any of them are in a better style than what is seen in Hindu buildings elsewhere. The population is variously estimated. Probably it is not less than one hundred and fifty thousand. The number is so large that the city extends six or seven miles along the river; though in no part is the width perhaps more than half or three fourths of a mile. Among the manufactures of this city, a kind of cloth resembling diaper and damask linens, and wax candles, are of most note in other parts of India. The Company have some of their depots for opium at this place; of which article, as of salt, they retain the monopoly.

There are two missionaries at Patna; one a very devoted, interesting gentleman of fortune who is not in connexion with any society; the other a Baptist. Neither of them has been very long here, and they have not as yet had the privilege of seeing any converts from among the Heathen. The Sikhs have a place of worship at Patna of considerable repute. It would be interesting to ascertain how this solitary branch of that religion was planted so far from the parent stock. After staying a few hours with a kind Christian family to whom I had letters, and where I had the additional pleasure of meeting the former mentioned missionary, I started again in the afternoon, and made a few miles, mooring for the night opposite to Bankípur.

September 2.—Passing Bankípur, where the civil servants of the Company, engaged in administering justice and collecting the revenue, chiefly reside, and then passing Díghah, I stopped be-

tween the latter place and Dinapore, and spent the rest of the day with another Baptist missionary who is stationed at this place. Here I enjoyed the satisfaction of much Christian intercourse with this family and the other Baptist missionary who had come to spend the day with them. These brethren, in addition to their duties among the Heathen in preaching or talking to them and distributing tracts, have each an English service attended by some of the Europeans or others who speak English. Patna, Bankípur, Díghah, and Dínapore form an almost continuous city of twelve or fifteen miles in length. Díghah is a considerable village, and Dínapore, the scene of Henry Martyn's pious labours, is one of the largest military stations; and has also a native population of probably fifteen or twenty thousand. There is usually a King's regiment European, a Company's, and a large artillery detachment, at this post, who have fine substantial barracks. The church also makes a good appearance. With the chaplain I did not become acquainted. From all I have heard, religious matters are in a condition but little if any better than when the faithful Martyn was here, or than is described in the Journal of Bishop Heber.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOURNEY TO LODIANA CONTINUED.

Rivers and towns—Attar of Roses—Danger from falling banks—Benares—Allahabad, example of fatal superstition—Review of the river journey—Dák travelling—Agra—Delhi—Arrive at Lodiana.

September 3.—This morning, there was a fine breeze which raised quite a sea in the broad expanse of water over which we sailed. The river is here several miles wide at this season. In the course of to-day's sail, we passed the mouths of three large rivers which enter the Ganges; the Gunduk which is said to take its rise in Thibet, and in whose waters the stricter Hindus are forbidden to bathe; the Gogra, also from the Himalaya mountains, after a course of five hundred miles; and the Soane, from the south, after an equally long journey. But, owing to the lowness of the banks, and the extent to which the waters are spread over the face of the country, I could not distinguish the places where their streams unite with the great river.

About twenty miles above Dínapore, we passed Chaprah, a fine looking native town, of some thirty thousand inhabitants, situated on the north bank of the river. It is the capital of the district of Saran, in the province of Bahar, and is the residence of an English magistrate, a collector, and perhaps a surgeon. This town presents many advantages as a situation for a mission family. The district of which it is the chief town contains twenty-five hundred square miles, and its population in 1801

was estimated by the Governor-General from revenue statistics at one million two hundred thousand. Probably, the number at present is not less than a million and a half.

September 4.—In the evening, reached Buxar where there is a dismantled fort, the situation of which completely commands the river, contracted here to a little more than a quarter of a mile in width. Buxar is one of the stations for invalid soldiers; of whom there is always a considerable number under proper officers. It is also one of the places where the Company have an establishment for rearing horses for the cavalry. The native town is quite large, and said to be chiefly composed of Mussulmans.

September 5.—Passed to-day the mouth of the Karamnasa river, said to be a small winding stream. For the reason which prevented my seeing the place of junction of the Soane, I did not enjoy the gratification of seeing that of this river with the Ganges. The banks of the Ganges are now higher, the trees scarcer, and the innumerable villages more uniformly characterized by having a tope or grove of mango trees in their immediate vicinity.

September 8.—On the evening of the sixth, I reached Ghazeepore and stayed the Sunday with the chaplain, a pious amiable and excellent man; in whose family I had the pleasure of meeting two or three pious officers, connected with the military at this station. This is both a military and a civil station. As there is usually a regiment of European soldiers in the barracks, there is a chaplain and a church. But for the service of the natives (and the population must amount to many thousands, perhaps fifty thousand, there is neither missionary nor any kind of agency employed. This

is an important station for a mission family; as there are no missionaries nearer than Benares, which is forty miles distant, while the population of this district is as dense as usual. The town is considered one of the most healthy in India, which I should think very probable from the high open ground on which it stands. Of the native inhabitants rather a large portion are Mussulmans; but in the country they do not average more than one eighth of the people. The character of the people of this town is rather unfavourably noted. They are spoken of as lawless and ready for acts of violence.

The country around is extensively covered with rose bushes, which are cultivated for the purpose of manufacturing rose water, and the famous attar of roses. To produce a quantity of the latter equal in weight to rather less than half an ounce, it is said that twenty thousand grown roses are required, and the price of that quantity is about fifty dollars. The attar is obtained by skimming off the oil which is found on the surface of the rose water after being exposed all night to the open air.

To-day, we got under sail again; but the wind being very light, and the current very strong, the men were soon obliged to go on shore with the rope. We had several times the opportunity of seeing one of the most common kinds of danger to vessels in these Upper Provinces. The banks are frequently high and often crumbling and ready to fall into the water. By the tow rope the boat is dragged close to the bank, whilst the heavy tramp of the men in pulling, and the rubbing of the rope on the edge of the bank, are very apt to detach large masses of ground. The danger is, that they may fall on the top of the poor boat; in which

case it would almost certainly founder. This afternoon, the risk appeared so great that I felt it a duty to leave the boat and walk some miles. Providentially, the sun was covered with clouds, so that I did not experience the evil influence which invariably attends exposure to his rays at this season of the year.

September 9.—Passed a Conductor's fleet of boats, some thirty or forty, carrying military stores to different stations of the army. Passed also the native town of Seidpur, a place of some business. No incidents of much interest occurred.

September 11.—Reached the far-famed city Benares. The appearance of this city is certainly very fine, as one approaches it on the river. It stands on a high bank, perhaps thirty feet higher than the water, on the outer circumference of a semicircular sweep which the river here makes of some three or four miles; so that, at one glance, a person can see to good advantage, the entire river-view of the city. This view is probably quite unique, without any thing to resemble it, much less to rival it, in the world. The houses are built close to the edges of the bank. Numerous temples stand also on the same eminence, while many ghats, or landing places, of stone-steps, leading from the water up to the top of the bank, some of them very large, are covered with crowds of worshippers bathing or washing in the holy river.

But it is in the city itself that a person sees how entirely it is "given to idolatry." The streets are so narrow that neither carriage nor horse can enter; at least, it is not expedient to attempt penetrating them on horse-back; and, in a carriage, it is impracticable to do so. Then, as the houses are very high, never less than two stories, but more

frequently five or six, there is an air of gloomy seriousness, befitting a holy place of such a religion. At every corner and turn, the eye sees temples and pagodas, of all sizes, and of every kind of structure. In the streets many fat, lazy, tame Brahminy bulls are moving about at their leisure; and beggars, and devotees, and Brahmans, are not less numerous. The walls of the houses often present rude paintings of the different gods and goddesses; their various transformations and exploits, with their many arms and weapons; and, in the raised narrow projections, at the doors of the houses, and in the inner corners of the streets, are sitting numerous persons, selling flowers and beads for the accommodation of the multitude of worshippers. In the temples there are always various Brahmans; some reading in loud, chanting tones, the shasters; others, besmearing the obscene *linga* with oil, and decorating it with flowers; others, pouring libations of holy water from the Ganges on the idols, and on different places in the temple; while not unfrequently a crowd of holy beggars, looking like demons through chalk and cow-dung, make a person almost deaf with their incessant repetition of Ram! Ram! Ram!

Benares is held sacred for ten miles around, though particular places in it are accounted peculiarly holy. One visit to this city secures for the pilgrim a certain admission into heaven. Many resort here from all parts of India, to finish their days; and so great is the opinion of its holiness, that many Rajahs have vakels, or delegates, residing here, to perform for them the requisite ceremonies and ablutions. It is said that within this city are a million of images of the *linga*. If true, or even near the truth, this estimate conveys a

most mournful idea of the state of morals.—The mosque built by Aurangzebe is the highest edifice, the minarets being upwards of two hundred feet high. It was built to mortify the Hindus, and is erected on the site of one of their most holy temples. The view from the top is very extensive and interesting.

Among the various buildings of some interest is an old Observatory, where may be seen a large gnomon of stone and some other instruments. Benares is not merely the Jerusalem of the Hindus; it is also their Athens. There are many private schools in which Sanscrit is studied under learned Brahman Pandits, who are supported by native princes and other wealthy Hindus. There is also a Hindu College, in which are taught the various branches of Hindu learning, not even excepting astrology, nor the astronomy of Ptolemy, nor the geography which teaches that the earth is supported by the tortoise "chakwa," and that Mount *Meru*, standing in the centre of the vast plain which forms the earth's surface, supports the various heavens. It is said to have eight or ten professors and about two hundred students. The superintendent is an *European*.

The population has been estimated at upwards of five hundred thousand; but various persons, with whom I conversed, supposed that it does not exceed three hundred thousand. At particular festivals the concourse is great beyond any computation. The European residents live in Secrole, one of the suburbs about three miles distant from the chief part of the city. There is also a regiment of sepoys stationed there, and a chaplain.

There are seven missionaries at this city; three under the Church Society, and one superintendent

of a large English and Persian school, founded by a wealthy native, but committed to the management of that Society; three from the London Missionary Society, who have a small chapel and stated service in the city; and one from the Serampore Baptist Society, who resides in the city, and has a room in his own house fitted for a chapel. Usually these brethren go every day to the city, and talk with the people, and give religious books and tracts to those who, they think, will make a good use of them. Though they have not yet had any conversions, they all say that they are heard with more attention and seriousness now than a few years ago.

Above Benares no regular journal was kept, and I shall give some notices of the remainder of the journey from letters written at that time. Passing Chunar, Mirzapore, and other native towns, I reached Allahabad on the 23d of September. From a letter written on the next day to the Secretary of the Society, the following extract is made:

The junction of the Ganges and Jumna, you know, is regarded by the Hindus as one of the most holy places in the sacred river.—As the Jumna is not, I believe, an object of worship, I hardly know how the opinion has originated that the god Gunga, or Ganges, should derive an accession of holiness from the union with that river. Nor is there any thing in the natural scenery of the place peculiarly impressive. The country is level on both sides, though not so flat as in Bengal, and the two rivers unite without occasioning, even at this season when both are much swollen, any great noise or large waves. The mind always takes an interest in seeing two large rivers flowing

into one, but apart from that, there is not so much to excite ideas of power in the junction of these rivers as of the Allegheny and Monongahela. Till a few years ago it was quite common for the deluded worshippers, many of them, to drown themselves at this place, supposing that thereby the possession of heaven was rendered certain. The boat in which they were accustomed to go to the proper place to take their departure, came at last into the possession of an old woman, some time before the English authorities interfered to put a stop to the custom, and she "by that craft had her wealth." Of course she did not relish a change which would take away her income, and earnestly contended that people had a right to drown themselves if they pleased. The magistrate was firm, and while he did not directly oppose the custom, he informed all concerned that he should punish with death, any who should, in any way, be accessary to the drowning of such persons. This simple measure brought the custom to an end. This occurred but a few years ago. I could not but feel sad at heart while sailing over the place where many of our fellow creatures "rushed unbidden" into the presence of their final Judge, hoping to secure his favour by an act of sin, assured of heaven while on the way to a widely different destiny. And though the practice no longer exists, yet the creed does in all its blighting influence. Oh soon may the knowledge of the true way of happiness be spread amongst this people! Incidents like these sacrifices, and like the swinging by hooks inserted in the muscles of the back, (of which I saw an example last spring,) would seem to show that the promptings of natural conscience are very strong, even where great

ignorance exists. However, much may be ascribed to motives of vain glory in the applause of men, and to the influence of stupefying doses of opium; yet the foundation of these customs lies much deeper. Their origin and continued existence show that the witness, which God has created in the bosom of every man, (see Acts xiv. 17, compared with Rom. i. 20,) still performs its duty. Such proofs of the power of natural conscience, I am inclined to think, should encourage missionaries in their addresses to the heathen, to make pointed appeals to it.

From Cawnpore, where the river part of the journey was ended on the 9th of October, a letter was sent to the same gentleman, of which a part is annexed:

A journey on this river affords many opportunities of usefulness to the natives on the part of those who can speak the language. Villages are thickly studded along the banks—often many boats are moored at the same place with yours; generally during day light, and often at night too, the people live "sub dio," in the open air, and are very willing to attend to what you may wish to say, and to receive the tracts you may have to give. I greatly regretted that I could not speak to them about the true salvation. However, I distributed a good many tracts, and at times under circumstances which affected my mind very much. On one Sabbath, a venerable aged Brahman, the chief man in the village where I was lying to, came to ask for a tract. He could not read himself, but said he would get his little grandson to read it for him, and he listened with much attention while I read a few pages. In coming up this river, a person should have some Bengali, and as

many Hinduí and Hindustáni tracts as he can obtain, and also separate books of the sacred Scriptures.

A journey of this kind affords much leisure for personal improvement. The time is hardly ever less than two months and a half, often three months, during which but little occurs commonly to prevent close application to reading, writing, &c. Few visits or calls to pay or to receive, few newspapers to spend the morning over, few objects of interest in the scenery around: the danger is rather that of too much, than too little time for study. There is something also in this kind of life to aid in a higher kind of improvement than merely mental—the improvement of the heart in piety. Certainly the presence of so many visible dangers, and the preserving care of the Lord, so often too obvious to be overlooked, "in perils of waters—in perils by the heathen," should lead to unfeigned gratitude, no less than to the exercise of humble confidence in the providence and grace of God, and also to entire consecration to his service.

There are few objects of interest to be seen in a journey on this river. The Raj-mahal, and the Gorruckpore Hills, and the city of Benares, appeared to me more interesting than any thing else—the former by reminding me of our "*lovely* native land"—the latter because so perfectly unique, for I suppose it would be difficult to find another city with so many features peculiar to itself. In general, the country is very level, the banks of the river low and monotonous in appearance—the river itself as muddy as high rivers usually are, and less impetuous, and apparently quite unconscious of its divine character, and equally regardless of the worship it receives. As

to the native villages and towns, when you have seen one, you have seen a specimen of nearly all. The great part of the houses are low mud cottages, with two low doors, and covered with thatch coming so low down in front as to form a sort of veranda, or open portico. Usually they have a great many low shady trees planted in their villages, and one or two large peepul trees, a fine shady species, around the foot of which a clay platform is erected, and there, under the wide spreading branches, of an afternoon, you may see most of the respectable villagers smoking their *hookas*, and probably discussing the politics and news of the village. These are the places for a missionary to take his station at, and direct their thoughts to heavenly themes. If he were prudent and kind in his manner, he would hardly ever fail to obtain a patient, respectful hearing. One is much struck with the good taste these people have displayed in choosing the sites of their temples. These latter, in the country and in villages, are commonly small four, six or eight sided buildings, of brick, covered with plaster, about ten or twelve feet high, surmounted by a dome, and a short spire. They have seldom any other furniture than the idol, or emblems peculiar to the particular deity worshipped, though these are most frequently of the most indecent description—too much so to be named openly, much less described. But I have often admired the situation of the temples. Where there happens to be a high, bold bank to the river, you will very often see one of these small buildings standing, white and conspicuous, in the midst of two or three small trees, of little more than its own height. At other times you see them in low places, under an overspreading peepul, close by the water's edge,

with a flight of steps, leading down into the water. Perhaps a fine grove of open, round-topped trees, may form a back view of peculiar beauty, and *coolness* of appearance in this burning sun. One view of the Hindu temples is often presented to my mind, their entire want of any thing to improve either the intellect or the heart. As to the latter object, every association, every thought awakened by the great majority of heathen temples, is *depraving*, and ruinous to the soul. But as to the former, the most that any of these places of worship accomplish, is to furnish occasionally a place for the reading of *shastras*, which, in many cases, neither reader or hearer understands. But even this is seldom done—there is no stated assembling of the people to receive instruction—there is neither scribe nor teacher—neither book nor manuscript. The worshippers, after saying over by rote some dry names of gods, sprinkling a little water, and offering, perhaps, a few flowers to the idol, and if a follower of Shiva, daubing his face with some mud, not forgetting sundry ablutions in the Ganges, when the temple is near it—then goes away as ignorant as he came, and more depraved.

I ought to notice one other feature of a journey on this river—the intercourse with missionaries. At Serampore, Chinsurah, Cutwa, Berhampore, Monghyr, Patna, Digah, Benares, and Buxar, there are missionaries, either of the Baptist, London, or Church Societies. It is necessary to stop at most of these places to obtain provisions, and the Christian kindness of these good people is very refreshing, while a knowledge of their plans and operations and experience will be of great service. Every where I think it will be found that God regards the kind of heart with which he is served

more than the kind of missionary organization. Here are the agents of voluntary and ecclesiastical societies—all have been blessed, and the former certainly not more than the latter. But all can labour in love—and there is room and need for all, and for many more.

From Cawnpore to Lodiana I proceeded by dák, or in a palanquin. From other letters I have taken a few notices of this part of the journey.

Delhi, October 27.—At Cawnpore, I made a new disposal of my goods and chattels; putting them on three hackeries, or rude carts, of three oxen each. The distance thence to Lodiana is about five hundred miles; and the expense of transporting them, I think will be considerably less than in the United States by a similar or land conveyance. As for myself, I had to decide on travelling by dák. In this manner one goes along, night and day, at the rate of four miles an hour.

At night, a dák traveller presents a singular appearance. Foremost are the *petarrah walas*, or bundle-carriers; of whom I have three, each man carrying two bundles of twenty-five pounds each, swung at the ends of a stick over his shoulder; who walk along with a peculiar fast gait. Then comes the traveller in his palanquin, borne by four men, who, at every step make a peculiar unpleasant sound by way of music; while four others run by their side, and thus relieve each other about once in every five minutes. But the most singular appendage is the *mussalchi*, or torch-bearer, who runs along before, carrying a large torch, on which he pours oil every few minutes, making a fine light. Every ten or twelve miles, a fresh set of men are stationed, to relieve the preceding set. The chief difficulty in this mode of travelling is its

irksomeness from always lying in the same position. Persons who cannot sleep at night, are seldom able to endure the fatigue. But I got along finely, sleeping as well as usual, until, at the end of their stages, the bearers would awake me for their bakshish, or usual present of a few anas. From Cawnpore to Agra is about one hundred and ninety miles; which distance I made in fifty hours; and from Agra to Delhi, I was thirty-seven hours in coming.

Agra and Delhi are the two chief cities of Upper India; and are the richest in memorials of former greatness that I have ever seen. The Taj, at Agra, is a wonderfully chaste and beautiful structure. It is built of polished white marble having four minarets or towers, at the four corners of the white marble terrace, on the centre of which the main building stands; and is approached through a delightful garden. Perhaps the feature, which attracts chief attention in the interior of the Taj, is the mosaic-work, or inlaying of cornelian, and other valuable stones, in the shape of flowers and vines, of great variety in figure and delicacy of colouring. Two richly finished tombs, in what might almost be called the cellar, but which have corresponding tombs in the chief apartments, directly above the lower ones, where the bodies are deposited, contain the only inhabitants of this wonderful edifice. Their glory has passed away; even their names are nearly forgotten; while as to their present condition, the multitude of extracts from the Koran, inlaid over the walls, afford little ground of hope, that they look back on their earthly splendour, or on the sepulchral state of their clay-tabernacles, with any rejoicing. The Taj was erected by a former king, Shah Jehan, in memory of a favourite wife; and when he died his remains were entombed by her side.

The fort at Agra, containing a palace and a mosque of white marble also, is well worth seeing; as are some other tombs. So, at this city, there are several mosques and public buildings of great interest. At Delhi, these buildings are larger, but not perhaps so highly finished, as at Agra. The principal masjíd, or Mohammedan temple, in this city, is built of a kind of free stone. These Mohammedan buildings, the Taj and mosques at Agra, and the mosques at Delhi, are generally constructed on the same principles of architecture; which indeed seem to characterize all Mohammedan public buildings. You have a noble terrace, with perhaps some fine reservoirs of water. Then in the centre of the terrace stands the main building, surmounted invariably by one dome; sometimes by more, with short gilded spires; while at two of the corners of the terrace, and sometimes at all the four, lofty minarets or towers arise, either in an octagonal or circular form, and usually very lofty. At Benares, two are upwards of two hundred feet high; at Agra, the four of the Taj are about the same height, and perhaps some of the minarets here are nearly as lofty. They are generally surmounted by an open cupola.

I went through the palace in this city, in which all that remains of the former splendid Mogul royalty now resides. Some of the buildings in it are very fine, with beautiful mosaic work, but there is always a strange combination, in these eastern countries, of greatness and meanness in their public works, as in other things. The great hall of audience, for example, with its large court, where suppliant kings and ambassadors formerly kneeled in profound humility, is the next in series to a *stable* yard, from which it is separated only by

a single large gate! The throne, whence Aurengzebe gave laws to millions, is ascended by a dark, narrow flight of rough stone steps; though there was another and better entrance to it, which is now walled up. The throne itself is now covered with defilement, while the hall of audience is lumbered up with old palanquins, worn out carriages, &c. The present Mogul Emperor has no authority out of the palace, and seems to care little about its interior appearance, provided he may have plenty to eat. The English treat him with great respect; which is perhaps the reason that so little care is given to keeping things in better order. If the palace were entirely theirs, there is little doubt that their liberal policy would secure the careful preservation of these remains of the former greatness of the Mogul dominion.

The missionary here is Mr. Thompson; a good, intelligent, judicious man, of considerable enterprise, and much respected by the English people. He has been seventeen years at this city—speaks the language, of course, as his mother tongue, with perfect fluency; and is very diligent. The Lord has granted him to see some few converts from the heathen. He was once at Lodiana, and has travelled much on missionary tours in Upper India; so I was very glad to hear him say that he considered our field of labour the finest in India.

I went about fourteen miles, all the way through the ruins of the old city, to see the Kutab, an immense tower of two hundred and forty feet in height. The view from the top of it is very singular, and full of mournful interest. For miles and miles around, you see scarcely any thing but the ruins of former greatness—one dilapidated palace, or mosque, or tomb, after another, rises in

the view, till you are almost oppressed at seeing such manifold evidences of the feebleness of man. The river Jumna terminates the view in one direction; and, though here but a narrow stream, is yet a perpetual witness of the power of God in his works, who can preserve as well as create. * * *

November 5.—After leaving Kurnal, one hundred and twenty miles north of Delhi, I entered the territory of the Protected Sikh States. There is nothing, however, in the appearance of the towns, or in the state of cultivation, to show the traveller that he has left the Company's territory. Enjoying the protection of British influence, this region seems to enjoy all the same peace and degree of prosperity that distinguish English from Native rule in these parts of the earth. But from Cawnpore, but especially from Delhi, it is easy to see that the inhabitants are a more energetic, warlike people, than those of the lower provinces. You meet many, perhaps most, native travellers, armed with swords, spears, or match-locks—sometimes with all these weapons. They are large, strongly built men, with prodigious beards commonly; and often look savage enough; but are in fact very peaceable, I believe, if not molested.

Northward of Delhi, the soil of the country is very sandy, and under only partial cultivation. There are few trees, except in the neighbourhood of the towns. The inhabitants do not live, as we should say, "in the country;" but nearly all dwell in large towns, which are usually walled. This circumstance, in connexion with the common practice of carrying arms, indicates that the state of the country has formerly been very unsettled; which indeed was the case. But we may hope, those days have passed away, and that the times

of peace which have succeeded will afford opportunity to introduce the peaceful reign of our Saviour.

Thus the first post of our future duty was reached on the 5th of November, 1834, about eighteen months after leaving Philadelphia. And it serves to give a striking illustration of the manner in which distant places have been connected with each other, by the providence of Him who beholds all the nations of the earth at one view, that a messenger from the churches of the western hemisphere, after traversing nearly seventeen thousand miles of the broad ocean, and penetrating thirteen hundred miles further towards the heart of Asia, should at last find his sphere of labour in a city unknown even by name to those by whom he was sent, when his journey was at first undertaken. Our neighbours are all our fellow men whom we can reach, directly or indirectly, to do them good; and Christian and Heathen nations are now so related to each other that the multitudes of those who are "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death," though living in distant lands and of a strange speech, may be effectively reached by the benevolence of their more favoured brethren. We may offer to them the blessed gospel if we are so inclined. Who that knows the worth of this gift would refuse to his dark-minded neighbour so inestimable a boon?

CHAPTER IX.

AT LODIANA.

Lodiana—Sickness—English Preaching—Importance of Schools—English School at Lodiana.

From the first letter written from Lodiana to the Secretary of the Society, I take the subjoined extract:

I have the privilege, at last, of writing to you from this place. I arrived last evening; and feel extremely grateful for the favour of Divine Providence in bringing me to the end of my journey. Protection, health, and peace, have been granted during all the way. At all the European stations great kindness has been shown by persons who previously were, of course, entire strangers: and that sense of the Lord's presence, which is more precious than all the favour of man, unless I am mistaken, I have almost continually enjoyed.

Lodiana is the most remote of the English stations in India on the North West. It is situated on a small nalla, or creek, about five miles from the river Sutlej, which forms the eastern boundary of the Panjáb, and divides the territories under British influence from those of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Sikhs on that side of the river. The present population of Lodiana is estimated at from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand; and is on the increase. When the navigation of the Indus is freed from the present restraints, which will most probably be within another year, the place may be expected to increase considerably; as it will then become one of the marts of trade with countries down the Indus. It is now a place of

considerable business-intercourse with the countries westward. Few places have so varied a population in people and language. There are two regiments of infantry, and one troop of horse artillery here, commanded, of course, by English officers; so that nearly a hundred persons use the English language. Then, there are probably two thousand five hundred people from Cashmere, who have found refuge here from the famine and oppression that have almost desolated their beautiful native valley. There are probably one thousand Affghans, who speak Persian chiefly. The higher classes, of whatever nation, in this part of India pride themselves in speaking Persian. The regular Sikhs, who, both on this side of the Sutlej and on the other, form about one tenth of the population, speak and write, (when they can write at all, which is seldom the case,) the Gurmukhí or Panjábí dialect, which appears to be formed from the Hinduí.

In regard to Lodiana, as a place for missionary operations, I still think it quite desirable to have a mission established here, of two families for the present; that is, of two married missionaries. One of them, in addition to the Hinduí, should possess a knowledge of the Panjábí. The other to Hindustání or Urdu should add Persian. After some time, perhaps one, two, or three years at the furthest, a press will most probably be nearly indispensable. At first, the missionaries will need to labour in a quiet way, avoiding professions of intention to convert the natives, but watching and improving the opportunities which I have no doubt will be constantly occurring for conversation, distribution of portions of the Scriptures, Tracts, &c.

One thing has been much impressed on my

mind—the importance of sending some person to make observation before a mission, of any size at least, is resolved on. I find that actual observation has corrected and modified my views of this field of missionary labour in no small degree; as I shall now attempt briefly to describe: 1. The way does not seem to be yet open for direct efforts, as it is, for instance, in the lower provinces. The native chiefs on this side the Sutlej, and Ranjít Singh, on the other side, have still the *power* to prevent an intercourse with their people. It is not probable, that they would attempt to do it, if quiet prudent measures were pursued. 2. The manner in which the population is distributed is quite different from what I expected to find, judging from other parts of India. The people chiefly dwell in large towns, often considerably distant from each other; while the intervening country is uninhabited. This circumstance may afford a better opportunity ultimately of making all the people acquainted with the gospel. 3. The proportion of those who embrace the religion of Mohammed is much larger than I had supposed, and composed of the better classes of the people. The Sikhs form about the tenth or twelfth part of the people. The great majority of the rest are Mussulmans. There is less prospect of their conversion than of any class; yet "the arm of the Lord is not shortened, that it cannot save."

The same letter having been delayed some three weeks, conveyed the first news of what proved the cause of an entire change in my course of life, which I can not set forth in fewer words than I then wrote.

What a change in a man's prospects and hopes is sometimes effected by the events and the in-

formation of a few days! Since my last date, I have been ill with a severe attack of congestion of the liver. Through the favour of the Lord, the means used have been attended with so much success that I am now able to sit up again, at least during part of the day. For about a week, I could neither read, nor indeed attend to any thing; I had scarcely strength to rise from my bed. This was partly owing to the severe course of medicine which it was found necessary to prescribe. But I do not love to dwell on what has been severe, there has been so much goodness mingled in this illness. Though an entire stranger, I have received the kind treatment of friendship. I have especially cause for thankfulness in having had the services of a skilful and experienced surgeon. My mind too has been kept in peace; and now, that I am getting better, I am glad to have a grateful heart, and to feel inclined to trust in the Lord with renewed confidence. . . . . The Doctor tells me, that my constitution will not suit this climate, and that the sooner I return the better.

On recovering from the severe illness referred to in this letter, I took charge of an English school, and also of a school for the children of the Drummers, Serjeants, and Native soldiers, besides conducting public worship on the Lord's Day, attended by the English officers and others speaking our language.

This latter service was very well attended, and was an important, and in the circumstances then existing, an appropriate sphere of duty. Where the Europeans at a station are disposed to attend on the ordinances and ministrations of religion, it is decidely important to have these services established. Not to insist that their spiritual interests

like those of all other men should never be neglected, their official standing and the superior influence of their character give them every advantage for promoting the welfare of the natives, both by their own efforts directly, as representing our common religion, and by the countenance and co-operation which they can give to the missionary. There may be in some cases an impropriety in a missionary's undertaking such duties, especially where chaplains are already officiating; and in no case should missionaries turn aside from their proper vocation in the hope of greater usefulness amongst the comparatively few Europeans at their station. Their work is a special one, and it is clearly defined by the commission under which they act; it must not be thrown into the shade by any other undertaking. As they have opportunity, however they must do good unto all men; and the main difficulty will often be to know how to give a due share of their time and labour to the numerous claims which are made on them. The greatest usefulness in the long run to the greatest number must be their aim.—In my own instance, there could be no difficulty about giving a part of my time to this English service, as I had been constrained to relinquish the study of the native language on account of the slight prospect of being able to continue long in the country.

The English school had been set on foot by Captain, now Colonel Sir C. M. Wade, the political agent, a few months before I reached Lodiana, and had been placed under one of his native clerks, with the design of transferring it to my care when I should arrive. Some fourteen or sixteen native boys had been in attendance. After a few weeks the number was increased to about fifty, of whom

some were the sons of two or three native chiefs, and other respectable native gentlemen; some of them were Hindus, others Affghans, others Cashmerians, and a few Sikhs; speaking, amongst them, the Hinduí, Hindustání, Gurmukhí, Pushto, Persian, and Cashmerian languages. By giving two or three hours a day to the superintendence of the school, and with the valuable service of an Indo-British teacher, the progress of the scholars was very creditable to themselves, and gratifying to their generous patron, Captain Wade, and other European visiters.

Several of these youths evinced no ordinary degree of capacity, and most of them were of clever abilities. All were uniformly respectful in their behaviour, and after a little training became studious and some of them earnest in their attention to their books. It was delightful to look on their animated faces, and see their eyes kindle as they received knowledge daily to which before they had been entire strangers. And when their confidence had been gained, they appeared to regard me with mingled respect and affection, and to receive my instructions with apparently perfect faith. I advert to this, though at the risk of appearing to speak my own praise, for a special reason—to show how invaluable are the opportunities afforded to a missionary by such a school for promoting the great object of his mission. He has a most hopeful charge, a company of youths whose minds are as yet but partially under the influence of heathen opinions and associations. The influence of their families, out of school, is doubtless strongly unfavourable, but this weighty hinderance is perhaps more decidedly felt by adults than by children in India. And opportunities will occur every day of

correcting the false views which prevail around them, and imparting clear and connected instruction concerning the Christian religion, while all the teaching of the missionary is enforced by his example, and rendered almost sacred in the eyes of the scholars by their high views of his character.

The importance of Christian schools becomes still more apparent when we recollect that the main hope of success in our endeavours to convert any heathen people, so far as the use of means is concerned, consists in preparing native agents who shall preach the gospel to their countrymen. These must be found and qualified, in heathen as in Christian countries, chiefly amongst the youth. Missionaries from foreign countries are indispensable in the first instance. It is theirs to sow the seed, to plant Christian institutions, to organize and train the army of native soldiers of the cross, and for a while to be the officers of "the sacramental host." All this they are now doing in India. But they labour under great disadvantages; their numbers are too small, not more than two hundred men, where an army of seventy-five thousand is needed, in order to give one religious teacher to each two thousand of the Hindus; they are and ever must be regarded as foreigners, imperfectly acquainted with the language, the usages, and the habits of mental association of the people; they cannot live but at great expense, compared with the cost of supporting a native missionary; they are poorly fitted by their previous habits and by their having been brought up in colder countries, for resisting the insidious and too often fatal influence of the Indian climate—these and similar considerations will ever preclude the hope of the

conversion of the Hindus by a purely foreign agency, and they show the necessity of directing our endeavours to the rearing up a native ministry, on whom must finally devolve the great work of evangelizing India. The limited experience of European missionaries in India, would, it seems to me, fully support these views. Those missions and missionaries have been most successful, which employed the largest and best trained force of native assistants. And it is very satisfactory to know that within the few last years, these doctrines have been more fully recognized by missionary societies than formerly. We may indulge brighter hopes, therefore, of future success. Indeed it has always appeared to me surprising that objections should be made against missionaries having the charge of schools among the heathen—especially in India, where nearly all the native writings, no matter how erroneous, have a sacred character, and where all the instructions of the missionary, even concerning geography or astronomy, have a direct influence in overthrowing the great fabric of Hindu superstition. In every heathen country, the missionary's schools are his churches, the scholars his congregation, and every day is hallowed by him in giving and applying Christian knowledge. It cannot be contended that preaching the gospel, which is doubtless the one great object of the missionary's life, is to be restricted to the forms of stated public worship which have been matured in old Christian communities, to regular sermons, for example, delivered from a pulpit to the people sitting below in pews. There could have been very little preaching of this kind in the Apostolic age, or in times of persecution afterwards. Divine truth may undoubtedly be preached without the

presence of the forms which we so justly revere. It may be made known by a public and authorized person in many other ways. It may be taught by the gift of the Sacred Volume with a few words of kind advice; it may be proclaimed with a loud voice in the midst of the confused multitude, pressing madly after their idols; it may be preached to a few heathens under the shade of a banyan tree, by the missionary's earnest talking with them; it may be announced in quietness and peace in the humble mission chapel, to a little company of patient hearers; and we should be thankful for all these ways of preaching good news to our fellow men. Why should we feel less thankful that the gospel may be taught daily to children, teachably and hopefully waiting on the lips of well known and beloved instructors? If there have been schools in which a decided Christian influence has not been exerted, I am not their advocate; but when properly conducted, schools certainly afford most important facilities for advancing the object which the Church has in view in her missions to the heathen. At the same time, I am well aware that serious difficulties may often exist to hinder the usefulness of schools, and even to prevent their being taken under the missionary's care.

If I have dwelt too long on this topic, it has been only in part on account of its deep importance to the successful prosecution of the missionary work; I have also wished to secure the reader's greater interest in the school, with which our efforts among the natives at Lodiana were commenced. Its early history has given pleasing evidence of the favour of God towards our mission.

At first, however, there seemed to be no little uncertainty about its prospects, and whether in-

deed it should become a mission school. This may appear surprising to the reader who recollects the account given by Mr. Reed and myself in our letter to the society, from which an extract has been given on a previous page; but that letter conveyed only the impressions made by the information we had then received. Now, I found that among the Europeans in the Upper Provinces there was much apprehension about connecting religious instruction with the education of the natives; and some men, of liberal views too, were decidedly opposed to such a union, at least at that time. The general policy of the government colleges, in which the Christian religion is no more recognized than the Mohammedan or any other, should be followed with special care, it was argued, amongst a people so partially under subjection to the British as the inhabitants of the Protected Sikh States, and a people moreover of so much independence, not to say recklessness of character. The popularity of those colleges among the natives was every where acknowledged, but the successful religious institutions of learning in Calcutta, attended largely by native youths of the highest castes, were not so well known in the Upper Provinces, or not considered examples to be imitated where the circumstances were so different. And it was easy, starting from premises like these, to form quite an array of objections, which I doubt not were sincerely felt, against attempting to combine religion and education in schools for the natives. Religious prejudices would be aroused, disaffection might be created against the government, and the improvement of the natives retarded by premature zeal—these were views which it is not strange that men should form in the peculiar circumstances of those

provinces. I esteemed myself highly fortunate in having to consult with a gentleman of such enlarged and correct views, and of such generous zeal for the good of the natives, as were evinced by the Political Agent at Lodiana. With many other men it might have been impracticable for me to have had any connection with the English school at that place, as I could not consent to take the responsible charge of an institution from which our holy religion was to be utterly excluded. After mature reflection, the school was fully placed under my control, and its studies were directed by a settled plan. No professions of our object were ostentatiously made, but on the other hand no concealment of our views was attempted, nor was there any withholding of religious instruction. No alarm was awakened among either Hindus, Mussulmans, or Sikhs. And the school after a fair trial was considered a successful effort. At least a favourable beginning had been made, though another and hardly less critical decision as to its permanent character was yet to be given.

Thus far there was abundant ground for acknowledging the hand of God for good towards our mission and, we trust, towards the native inhabitants. It would have been a matter of deep regret, if the first efforts in this new sphere of education had been established on the contracted policy of excluding that instruction without which all other teaching is incomplete and unsatisfactory; thereby awakening or confirming a host of prejudices, and closing the door against the most valuable opportunities of imparting religious knowledge to those, who were soon to wield the highest native influence. Indeed so grave was the complexion of this matter, that I could not but seriously doubt

the expediency of attempting a settlement at Lodiana, unless it could be satisfactorily adjusted. This was evidently the first thing to be done, as matters then stood in that city; and not to have had the supervision of whatever was done or attempted might have proved in many ways embarrassing. But whatever fears I might have been constrained to indulge, not so much from the views of Europeans at that city as from the general considerations already referred to, I could not but acknowledge with lively gratitude the favour of Him, who disposes and governs all the councils of men according to his own holy will. It was highly proper, also, to acknowledge thankfully the favour of the Europeans of the station, and particularly of the Political Agent, Captain Wade, who in this instance as in all others proved himself a cordial and efficient friend of our mission.

CHAPTER X.

TOUR TO LAHOR.

Information desired—Invitation from Ranjít Singh—Manner of travelling—Appearance of the country—Paghwarah—Dancing girls—Villages—Cities—Interview with a Native Chief—River Bías—Cashmerian emigrants—Sacred reservoir at Amritsir; visit of a Native Chief.

Those who are engaged in establishing a new mission, should seek earnestly for such information as shall enable them wisely to form their plans of proceeding. They should know the numbers of the people amongst whom they are to labour; their

character, business, usages, learning, government, laws, state of society, chief towns and cities, and other matters affecting their condition, and especially their religion and its institutions and observances. These things influence greatly the efforts, both in kind and extent, which the missionary should undertake for their welfare. Entertaining this opinion, I endeavoured to collect information on these points from every quarter—particularly after the physician, to whose kind and valuable services I was so deeply indebted, had given his opinion as to the necessity of my returning home. As our mission had a special reference to the Sikh people who inhabit those north western parts of India, and as most of the Sikh tribes live in the Panjáb, or country between the Sutlej and the Indus at that time under the government of Maha Rajah Ranjít Singh, and seldom visited by foreigners, I was anxious to make a tour on the other side of the Sutlej. I soon learned that there was little prospect of being able to make such a journey. Through jealousy of foreign influence, Ranjít was reluctant to permit Europeans and other foreigners to enter his territores, and to avoid giving umbrage to a ruler of so much power, the British authorities did not authorize, except in special instances, foreigners to cross the Sutlej; I had therefore reluctantly to relinquish the project of making inquiries in the Panjáb itself. The reader will judge then of my surprise and gratification at receiving from the Maha Raja an invitation to pay him a visit at Lahor! He had heard of me and of our English school through his Vakíl, or Chargé des affaires, at Lodiana, and with his invitation he made a proposal that I should spend six months of the year at his capital, to take charge of the education of a

number of the young Sikh noblemen, the sons of chiefs. I should have been delighted to have accepted this proposal, if the state of my health would at all have justified my living on the plains; it presented a fine prospect of obtaining a standing and influence, which would have been invaluable to a missionary. And in reflecting on the past, I have been disposed to regret that I had not consented at whatever risk; but the physician's advice was imperative. I must repair to the hills on the approach of the hot season, as the only means of preventing another attack, which in the warm season would probably prove extremely dangerous, if not fatal. I was constrained therefore to decline the proposal, and as the invitation was connected with it, I much feared that my declining the one would prevent a renewal of the latter, though in acknowledging the honour of the invitation, I expressed myself as anxious to be permitted to come and pay my duty to "the great King."

The invitation was repeated, and the visit to Lahor was shortly afterwards made. Of this tour I took notes at the time, which will serve to give a better view of the condition of the Panjáb, than I could present in any other form.

January 28, 1835.—Agreeably to an arrangement previously made, I set out this afternoon on the journey to Lahor. An elephant had been sent from that city, to carry the tents; and another, which the Maha Rajah keeps at Lodiana, was assigned for my use to ride. The latter is a noble animal, being nine or ten feet in height. On his back is placed the Howdah, a kind of gig-like frame, but without a hood, and having two seats. The front one is richly ornamented with silk cushions, of a yellow colour, the favourite colour of the

Sikhs; and affording good accommodation for two persons. Behind it is a lower seat, for a servant to sit on, either for parade or to hold an umbrella when necessary. The driver sits on the neck immediately before the howdah, while one or two assistants run by the side of the elephant—all carrying goads, or iron sticks, to guide the animal or quicken his pace. The motion is not a pleasant one to persons not used to it. He goes at a kind of walking pace, as if trampling on round stones, and apparently so much at his leisure as to lead a person to think he was making little progress. In truth, however, the horsemen in company, of whom there are ten assigned as guards, are obliged to *amble* along (for the Hindus seldom trot) four or five miles an hour, to keep up with him.

Before mentioning the elephants and the horsemen, I should have introduced the Persian Munshí, or Secretary, who goes with me as interpreter. He is a Mussulman Hindu, who has acquired a pretty good knowledge of our language at the English College at Delhi. He will be of great use to me; as, in addition to the knowledge of the language, he is acquainted with the customs of the people, and his pleasing manners render him not unacceptable as a companion.

There are no hotels in this country; so that in travelling it is necessary to take every thing along that is needed for cooking, sleeping, &c. And such is the division of labour among different castes, who will not do any thing not pertaining to their own class, that it requires no small number of men to form an establishment. Thus, our present company amounts to about sixty persons, including myself, munshí, horseguard, and our respec-

tive domestic servants; as also tent-pitchers, attendants for the elephants, horses, &c. Large as this number appears to be, I have the satisfaction of knowing that it is smaller than the attendance of most European travellers in the Panjáb.

Crossing the *Nallah*, or moderate sized creek, of clear beautiful water, which flows almost half round Lodiana, our road led through fields of grain covering the level sandy plains with a carpet of green. We passed two or three small, ill-looking villages, where the mud-houses of the people, their cattle, and their grain, were all jumbled closely together, and surrounded by a low clay wall. At five or six miles distance, we came to the river *Sutlej*. The water flows along in a naked channel through the sandy plains which characterize this part of India. There are a great many shoals, or sand-bars, in the channel, which make their appearance at this time of year; yet, in the main channel there is rather a strong current, and about ten feet depth of water. During the rainy season, the waters of this river are spread over the country two or three miles in breadth. Formerly, it ran past Lodiana, where the Nallah now runs; but it forsook that channel some fifty years ago—an occurrence which one may suppose would not be unfrequent, as the water receives a rapid impulse in the mountainous regions, and the sandy soil of the plains opposes but feeble resistance to their progress. The ancient name of this river was *Satudar*—whence *Hesudrus*. It is the most eastern of the five rivers from which the name *Panjáb** is derived, and forms the boundary on the east of that part of India. After continuing its course forty miles from this place, it receives the

* From two India words, *panj* five; and *ab*, water.

Bias, the ancient *Hyphasis*, the second river of the Panjáb from the east; and thence, the united stream is called the *Gharra*. At Uch, lower down to the southwest, the river formed by the other three rivers of the Panjáb joins the *Gharra;* and thenceforward, the name is *Panjnad*, which falls into the *Indus* at Mithan Khol. We crossed the Sutlej at a town called *Filor*, on the opposite bank, where there is a Fort of some strength, garrisoned by one hundred and fifty men, and a population of six or seven thousand persons, chiefly Mussulmans. Here we encamped for the night on the open plain near the town.

January 29.—Started this morning at $7\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, and came to Paghwarah, ten kos, or about thirteen miles. The road led us past six or seven villages; some of them large, containing probably two or three thousand inhabitants each. Many others were in sight, and several had small forts, of no great strength. Paghwarah contains probably fifteen thousand inhabitants. The houses and public buildings make a better appearance than is usual in cities of India, a larger portion of them being of brick than is common. The people are chiefly Hindus; the Mussulmans have two mosques; and there are two or three hundred Sikhs. So we are informed by the chief man of the town, himself a a Sikh. There are a few Persian and Sanscrit schools at this town, attended by a few scholars each. The chief trade of the people is in the common white sugar of the country. The fort presents a formidable appearance at a distance. We did not go near enough to examine it closely.

In the afternoon, a company of Nach girls came to the place where our tents were pitched on the plain, wishing to exhibit their skill in dancing, in

order to obtain a present. There were about twenty of them, attended by two or three men with instruments of music. All were unveiled, and were dressed in their richest finery. Nearly all were quite young, probably not more than ten or eleven years of age. As I did not wish to give them any encouragement, they went away apparently much disappointed.

This class of girls is to be found in all the large towns and cities of India. Their profession, from which they receive their name, is that of dancing and singing; in which they are employed at all feasts and joyous occasions. The Hindus consider such amusements very disgraceful in themselves; though they take great delight in witnessing the performances of others. These poor girls are universally of disreputable character; and their number and style of dress afford one of the many proofs which exist, that impurity extensively prevails among this people. It is said that their songs and dancing are often very indecent. This general subject is a painful one to every Christian mind, and requires the veil of silence to be drawn over most of its aspects. Yet it would be a want of faithfulness in missionaries not to advert to it at all; as thereby one of the most prominent evils of Heathenism would awaken little sympathy. If any of the views, however, which may be presented, admit minuteness of statement and call for peculiar concern, it is the affecting truth that the great majority of this class are so very young. It not only shows that they are early *initiated* into the grossest vice, but that their course in it is brief. Soon they are discarded, wander about as beggars, and perish miserably.

January 30.—Jhalandar, ten kos. We started

at six o'clock. The morning was cold and frosty, the thermometer standing at 32° in the open air. We passed two large villages, and saw several others at a short distance; from one part of the road, no less than six, all of them but four or five miles from all the others, and connected together by the greenly covered field of grain. At one of them there is a large mosque. The appearance of villages in the northern parts of India is almost every where the same. If rising ground can be obtained, they are placed on the highest part; which however, is seldom more than a few feet elevated above the vast surrounding plains. The houses are almost always built of clay or mud, as is the wall which commonly encloses the town.—There is greater neatness and cleanliness in the interior of these villages than a person would expect to see; but on the outside of the walls there is much to offend more senses than one. I have often been reminded of the expression in Revelation, "without are dogs." These animals are by no means held in such estimation in this country as among western nations. Many of them run wild, or unclaimed by any owner; and often several of them may be seen, half-starved, sneaking, and stupid in their appearance, preying on the filthy, putrid matters that are thrown over the walls.

The cultivated plains over which we are travelling are said to yield two crops in the year; the first, of wheat and barley, sown in November, and reaped in April; the second, of different kinds of a native grain, generally called *dal*, sown or planted in July, and gathered in October. The seed of the dal is used by the natives for food, and the stalks make fodder for the cattle. The wheat and

barley seem to be cultivated with great care. Often it is planted in rows a few inches apart; and often the seed has been so deposited as to spring up in bunches or clusters of two or three stalks each.

Before reaching our stage to-day, we met a string of sixty or seventy camels, loaded with salt. They travel in "Indian file," a cord being attached either from the crupper or tail of the first, to the nose of the second, and so on. The salt is brought from Dadal Khan ka Pind, a place on the other side of the Jilum, upwards of one hundred miles from Lahor to the N. W. There is a range of salt hills, in which, at some distance and partly descending, the salt is found in solid mass of a reddish colour. It is dug with sledges and hammers, and exported to all parts of the Panjáb; yielding a revenue at the mines, it is said, of more than a million and a half of rupees.

Jhalandar, in the vicinity of which our tents are pitched to-day, is a large, substantial-looking city. It was formerly the residence of the Lodi race of Affghan kings (from whom the town of Lodiana takes its name) who have left many traces of their having made this place their home. It is surrounded by a high wall, partly of brick with bastions, and partly of clay—has a large fort, and many brick houses. The population is said to be forty thousand; chiefly Hindus, then Mussulmans, and a few Sikhs. The country around is highly cultivated, and in the immediate vicinity are numerous gardens, mango, pomegranate, orange, and rose trees.—Our tents are near three large tombs, erected to perpetuate the names of former kings. But their remembrance has passed away, and their memorials are fast sharing the same lot, being in a very ruinous condition. I estimated the smallest

one to be forty feet square, and twenty-five to the commencement of the dome. The other two are larger, and of different structure; but are also surmounted by domes. This circumstance is proof itself of the Mussulman faith of their builders. They seem to be very fond of that kind of structure, probably because it forms so large a part of the ornamental roofs of their sacred temple at Mekka. They place domes, in this country, on the tops of nearly all their mosques; usually three; and on their tombs and other public buildings.

In the afternoon, the *Thanadar*, or Governor of the city, came to pay his respects. He was attended by several of the chief men, and a crowd of guards with long spears, making a little forest of sharp points over their heads. I was indebted for this mark of respect to my character *as an Englishman;* for such they think I am, and to my travelling through the country at the Maha Rajah's invitation. The custom is for inferiors of respectability, in approaching a person whom they regard as superior, to offer a rupee or two on the folded corner of their mantle; which was done this afternoon; but I think it best to decline receiving the present. It is only meant as a matter of form. After making some inquiries, I distributed tracts to those among them who could read; which were accepted with many thanks; chiefly, I suppose, because they look on me as their superior, so that it is a mark of favour from me. I am thankful, that this adventitious dignity will probably secure a careful perusal of these silent little messengers of salvation.

January 31.—To Kaphurtalah, nine kos. Soon after starting this morning, we passed two of the twelve *pakka* villages which belong to the city of

Jhalandar. Their houses and walls are all built of burnt bricks (whence the name pakka) which gives them a very superior appearance to that of many Hindu villages. None of them are more than three kos from the city. The district of Jhalandar, including the city, is farmed for its revenue by a Sikh chief, who pays two hundred thousand rupees annually for the privilege to Ranjít Singh.—When we got within a mile of our halting place, we were met by a vakíl, or kind of ambassador of the Chief of this part of the country, mounted on an elephant, and accompanied by eight or ten foot soldiers with their muskets, who presented arms as a salute, and then went before us, the vakíl riding by our side. For this mark of respect we may thank, partly the circumstances under which I make the journey, and partly the custom of the country. We were conducted to a large and fine dwelling, for this country, in a garden some distance outside of the walls of the city where the Chief wished me to take up my quarters.

Fatteh Singh, the Chief of Kaphurtalah, is one of the most powerful of the Sikh chiefs, having a revenue of about seven laks of rupees, or three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. He was formerly an independent prince but was obliged to become a feudatory of Ranjít Singh, after being deprived of a considerable portion of his territories. Part of his possessions lie in the district of country between the Sutlej and the Jamna, under British protection. The population of the town where he resides is probably about ten thousand persons; chiefly Hindus, then Mussulmans, and a few Sikhs. It is a new town, and is apparently increasing with much rapidity. Some of the public buildings are large and not deficient in Hindu taste. The most

singular and extensive is a temple to Siva, erected for the Hindus by the Chief, himself a Sikh. It has a lofty pagoda-like structure at each corner of a square, and a similar building in the centre of larger dimensions. These pagodas are from thirty to fifty feet high, with many gilded short spires shooting up from various projections. In the afternoon, the wind was very high and from the east. The thermometer stood in the open air at 40°, 101°, and 50°, at sunrise, noon, and sunset. At noon it stood at 61° in the shade.

February 2.—Yesterday I went to see the Chief, and had much conversation with him and his attendants. He is rather under the middle size, has an intelligent countenance, dresses plainly—much more so than his sons—and all his remarks evinced strong good sense, though not much cultivation of mind. I was struck with the frank, unceremonious, yet respectful manner in which all seemed to address him. It wore something of a patriarchal aspect, which the grave countenances and long beards of the people rendered the more dignified. It was interesting, also, to see Sikhs, Mussulmans, and Hindus, mingled among the chief men of this court, in the same manner as the mosques and temples of these sects are seen standing in the same streets of the town. I should think it very probable, that in a few years, if favour still be given, a branch of our mission might be established here under promising prospects. Even now, I think the Sardar could be persuaded to grant his protection, if not his influence; and especially if an English school were undertaken.

Our halting place to-day is at Bahrowal, eleven or twelve kos from Kaphurtalah, on the opposite bank of the *Bias*, the second river of the Panjáb

from the east. The Bias is here a pretty stream of about one hundred yards in breadth. The eastern bank is low, and covered with a deep fine white sand, for a mile from the water. The other bank is bolder, and is probably thirty feet high. The town of Bahrowal stretches along the western bank for two or three miles; but does not contain more than five or six thousand inhabitants, who are chiefly Hindus. It is a kind of landing-place for rafts of timber, which are brought down the river in the rainy season. But it does not present the appearance of a business place; rather it appears to be on the decline. As usual, there are no schools, and but few persons who can read.

February 3.—To Jandyala, eleven kos. The country, to-day, has the same general appearance that we have noticed on former days—level, sandy, destitute of trees, stones, houses, or any thing to break the uniformity of the landscape. There were occasional fields of fine wheat, and a few villages looking as uninteresting as usual. The fields have now commonly a low, brier fence around them. One is ready to wonder at the richness of the grain on so sandy a soil; but the soil is rather a loam in which much sand is intermingled, and which becomes very productive when water can be applied to irrigate it. To obtain water for this purpose, the Persian wheel is commonly employed.

To-day, as on former days, we met a number of Cashmerians, emigrating from their lonely native valley, in search of employment and livelihood. Through famine and oppression, the valley of Cashmere is said to be now almost deserted; containing probably less than one hundred thousand inhabitants, and yielding no revenue at all,

where, some years ago, it is said, forty laks, or four millions of rupees were collected. These emigrants look very wretched, being ragged, dirty, and often bare-headed, which in this country indicates much deeper poverty, than to be bare-footed does in other, at least in western countries. They carry with them a few utensils for cooking, and perhaps a small bundle of ragged clothes. The men have usually fine, intellectual looking countenances, and are rather small in stature, and of active make. The women may rank in their appearance among the poorer classes of emigrants from Europe to America, and have frequently good countenances and fine eyes, though not so remarkable for beauty as some writers represent. They are a very industrious people, and are now to be found at nearly all the large towns in this region of India, employed in manufacturing the various fine fabrics for which their valley is so celebrated.

Jandyala presents rather a good appearance, as many of the houses are built of brick. It is always difficult to form a correct estimate of the population of a Hindu town. There are seldom any well ascertained statistics, never any records, and the natives differ widely in their *guesses*. One informant stated the inhabitants of this town at thirty thousand. It probably contains about one-third that number; chiefly Hindus of the *Khsatriya* caste, one of the most respectable orders of the community. There are, however, no schools of any kind, and few are able to read. Those who wish to have their children taught to read and write, send them to Amritsir. There is a brick fort in the immediate vicinity of this town, the walls of which are probably twenty or twenty-five feet high. It is smaller than one or two others we have

seen, that were built in the same style. Scarcely any of them would hold out, for any length of time, against European artillery. Some of them would tumble down at the first discharge. Yet others display considerable acquaintance with military science, having the same array of bastions, ramparts, port-holes, ditches, drawbridges, &c., that are common in European fortifications.

February 4.—Our ride this morning presented nothing worthy of particular notice. The fields of grain were more scattered than we observed on former days, and large tracts of land were lying waste. Two or three large villages on the road-side, and some others at a distance, had the usual appearance. When we had made about half our march, we saw several lofty columns rising from the city Amritsir, distant five or six miles. We soon reached the city, and found our tents pitched in a garden outside of the wall, at the north end. This is one of the largest cities in the north of India, as the population is supposed to be upwards of one hundred thousand. It has the higher recommendation of being a city not on the decline, but of increasing prosperity. It is the emporium of the Panjáb, and the chief mart of the fine fabrics of Cashmere, and yields a revenue, it is said, of five laks of rupees, (five hundred thousand,) which is paid to the Maha Rajah by the Chief, who has the farming of its collection; so that the entire sum is probably much greater.

Like Benares among the Hindus, Amritsir is the Sikh Athens and Jerusalem, being the place of chief learning and sacredness. The cause of its celebrity is undoubtedly the Sacred Reservoir, said to have been formed by Guru Ram Das about the year 1575. It has been once or twice profaned

by Mohammedan conquerors, yet has still been regarded with the utmost veneration. It is the chief place of resort among the Sikh pilgrims, and has many daily devotees, who think their worship becomes highly meritorious by being performed at so sacred a place. Rajahs have vied with each other in the richness of their offerings for its decoration; and the number of learned Sikhs, who constantly live in the cloisters around its pavement, and in the booths on the margin of its waters, to explain the sacred book, the *Granth*, is so large, as to diffuse almost a literary atmosphere over the place of devotion. I went to see the reservoir, though there was some danger attending the visit; as there are always present many of the *Akalis*, a kind of desperate fanatics, who fear not God nor man. It is a large square court, paved with bricks along the four sides, which form what may be termed the *wharf* of the sacred water. Along the outside of the pavement there is a range of buildings with open doors or windows, facing the reservoir; and the various shady trees, which are growing in the pavement, make the walk agreeable, and are in good keeping with the serious character of the place. The pool of water is about one hundred yards square, and is probably ten or twelve feet deep. It is supplied from a small canal, brought from the river *Ravi*, at about thirty-five miles distance. In the midst of the water stands a small, but neat temple, covered over with neat gilding, and connected with the pavement by a causeway at one side. At the north side there is a large and richly decorated temple to Guru Govind Singh, near which is planted a lofty flag-staff, covered with gold cloth. Both of these are objects of great sacredness. At the edges of the pavement

next the water are sundry small booths, or little buildings, open at one side, and containing little else than a Granth and a Guru, a Sikh Bible and a Sikh priest.

A number of boys accompanied us in our walk around, and behaved very insolently; as did some beggars; so that I was not sorry to see an additional guard of policemen, and soon after a company of soldiers, who were sent by the chief men of the police, and by the Governor of the city, to prevent any person from offering insult or violence. It is usual for visiters to make an offering of money to the Granth that is kept in the Gilt Temple. I evaded compliance, as it would have been wrong to do so, but softened the matter as much as I could by ordering a few rupees to be given to the numerous beggars. This measure was far from being satisfactory.

No religious place that I have seen in India, not even excepting those in Benares, seems to me as well adapted to impress the minds of the deluded worshippers with devotional feelings. Nor do I recollect any so pleasing in its whole appearance, nor in which there is so little to offend good taste. It is a place where a Christian would love to see temples to the living and the true God; and where he would be delighted to observe the countenances of the crowds of worshippers reflecting love and Christian peace, instead of Pharisaical and desperado hauteur. The Lord hasten the time when this shall be the kind of remark which the passing visiter has to make of the reservoir at Amritsir, and of the people who resort there for religious worship!

In the evening the Sardar or Chief of this district, Lehna Singh, paid a visit, ostensibly to the

garden grounds where the tents were pitched, but really to see the "Padrí Sahib." He is a very sensible and thinking man. In the course of the conversation, he adverted to the almost atheistical principles or rather want of principles, which most Europeans of his acquaintance manifested. Seeing a thermometer and compass lying on the table, he soon showed that he perfectly understood the uses of each, and wished to know why the magnet always pointed to the North. He referred to the healing effects of some kind of metals when applied to different parts of the body, as an instance of European science; and asked for the reason. I saw that he had heard something about the "magnetic tractors" which were so famous in France toward the close of the last century, and explained to him their history. He then inquired about the extent of my studies; and finding I had paid some attention to Geometry, mentioned that he had an instrument which he did not know how to use, and asked me to explain the mode. Making a sketch of it with a pencil, it proved to be a *quadrant*, which he afterwards sent to me by one of his most intelligent men. The Sardar wished to know the mode of taking the longitude and latitude of a place, and what instruments were necessary, and wherein they differed from each other. He adverted to spires of buildings becoming magnetic after some year's exposure; and also remarked, that iron which had been some years exposed to fire often becomes magnetized. He mentioned seeing the stars in day-light, when in the valleys between mountains, as a parallel example to a remark I had incidentally made about seeing them from the bottom of wells; and, in the interview,

asked many questions about these and other subjects, evincing both thought and observation, as well as a judicious mind; while there was but little shading of vanity in his manner, or disposition, either to value himself on account of attainments so unusual among his countrymen, or to make a display of them to others.

I was highly gratified with the scientific part of the interview; but regretted that religion did not form a more prominent part of the conversation. On proposing to present him with a Ghurmukhí Testament, I found that he already possessed one; and the attempt I made to introduce religious topics through that door was prevented by the questions already referred to. However, the latter may prepare the way for the former. Lehna Singh is a middle-aged man, of mild but dignified manners; and greatly beloved, I understand, by his subjects. He aids the Maha Rajah, when necessary, with a quota of troops. His own revenues are said to be about three hundred thousand rupees per year.

February 5.—To Jangrí ka Phul, fourteen kos, or twenty miles; for I have come to the conclusion that the kos in this part of India is nearly, if not altogether, equal to one and a half English miles. The general face of the country is more than usually barren, though there were many villages and numerous karel trees. Our station to-day is in the vicinity of the village already named, which is not very large.

Thermometer at three P. M. in the shade, 60°. A newly raised regiment is encamped in our vicinity. They muster about eight hundred men. They are commanded by an Englishman. There are three or four Englishmen, as many French-

men, and one American, in Ranjít's service. Chiefly by the aid of one or two of the French officers, a large part of his army has been organized and trained according to European tactics.

CHAPTER XI.

TOUR TO LAHOR—RANJÍT SINGH.

Reach Lahor—Visits of two fakír courtiers—Interview with the King—Conversations with the fakírs—Invitations to see dancing girls declined—Mussulman version of David's repentance—Appearance of Lahor—An armed Maulaví.

February 6.—To Lahor, twelve kos. From Amritsir to this city there is a gradual descent in the plain, so that a canal had been dug to supply the latter place with water from the canal which furnishes that important element to the good people of Amritsir. This canal runs side by side with the road, but is now dry; and it is said another has been formed for the same purpose. Lahor lies rather south of west from Amritsir. The intervening country exhibits a more barren appearance, than any other part of the Panjáb we have seen; though, owing probably to the vicinity of the two cities just named, the number of villages is greater. The soil is of a hard, dark, sandy nature. About five miles from Lahor the whole scene changes, and the road passes through an extremely fertile tract of country, covered with luxuriant wheat and fine gardens, and adorned with beautiful mango and tamarind trees. One of the gardens, the *Shahlabagh*, is a mile by half a mile in extent, filled with orange, pomegrante, rose, and

other beautiful trees. This tract is abundantly irrigated by means of numerous Persian wheels.

At two or three miles distance, we entered the ruins of the Old city. A great many mosques, temples, palaces, and tombs, are seen in every direction, and in every stage of dilapidation. Some are almost entire; but most are greatly injured. Of some, the domes are yet unimpaired, while the pillars which support them totter in every breeze, and must soon share the common fate. These ruins are very extensive; so that Lahor may be termed the Delhi of the Panjáb, if not in the magnificence, at least in the extent, of the ruins of its former self.

The present city presents a good appearance at a distance; as it is compactly built, and has several lofty towers, and many brick houses of considerable height. We were conducted to an extensive garden of orange trees, in which a French officer had erected a large summer residence. This place has been assigned for our lodgings, and is all that I could wish; as it is retired, and yet sufficiently near the city, being about a quarter of a mile outside of the walls.

In the afternoon, one of the chief men brought the Ziafat, or present, with the addition of much profession about the good understanding existing between the British government and themselves. This I was prepared to expect. He is a Fakír, though nothing in his manner or appearance would indicate that he is. He made many remarks of a religious kind; but they were common place and indefinite in their nature. He introduced the subject of an English school in a very skilful manner; inquiring successively, how I, who understood so little of the native language, could teach the Eng-

lish; how I should act, if different pupils wished to learn different branches; who should decide. The answers seemed to give much satisfaction, and suggested another question, which I think was the chief subject of his long interview, though he presented it as if it were a matter of no importance; "If a Government established a school, who should decide on the branches to be taught?" I answered, "The Government, certainly." This was "very good," he thought. I took care to add, however, that if a Government should establish a school, it would still be optional with persons proposing to take charge of its instruction, to do so or not, as they might approve or disapprove the plan proposed; to which he assented. The whole conversation was as abstract as if we had been sitting somewhere in the region of the north star; but its bearing on the points of interest here on the earth, and at Lahor, is sufficiently obvious.

Fakír Nur Ud Dín is very much of a courtier; perhaps I should say, of an eastern statesman, in his manners—grave, cautious, cool; yet abounding in compliments, and apparently very self-complacent. He has a fine large forehead, good eyes, and greyish beard; is about fifty years of age, I should think, and dresses plainly.

February 7.—Last night, a note came from Nur Ud Dín, to say, that he had communicated the conversation of the interview to the Maha Rajah; who expressed much satisfaction, &c.—that his brother, (the chief man here,) would come to see me to-day, and wishing to know whether I would prefer to pay my respects to-day or to-morrow. I sent an answer, that I would prefer going to-day; but would leave the Maha Rajah to decide.

To-day, Azíz Ud Dín, the prime minister, call-

ed, with a present from Ranjít Singh of pomegranates and grapes; and afterwards, oranges, &c. The conversation was miscellaneous, and a little more of a business character than yesterday. It turned, however, chiefly on the friendship subsisting between the British and themselves, now known to all the world, cementing the two nations into one, causing them great joy to see the face of any European. Then some inquiries about my health; what would become of the school at Lodiana, if I should leave; what had been the course of my studies; whether including military science, &c. Having mentioned that I expected some friends to arrive, he inquired very particularly both as to the time of their coming and my probable leaving.

This Fakír, as well as his brother yesterday, paid me some high and extravagant compliments; chiefly expressive of their great joy at seeing me, and the great pleasure my conversation gave them. I have every reason to think they were perfectly meaningless, if not insincere; yet an instance or two will be amusing. Yesterday, the Fakír, said; "The bud of my heart, (that is, my dearest bud,) which was shut up, has been opened by the wind of your conversation into a fine flower." To-day, at taking leave, the Fakír, in expressing his great happiness at having the interview, said, that, "I was like a treasury of precious jewels, which he could not obtain," referring to my not being able to communicate the knowledge to him which he supposed I possessed. I was quite at fault when he referred to "an ancient tradition about the philosopher's stone which converted every thing into gold; but if even a leaf intervened between the stone and the material to be changed into gold,

then the latter received little benefit." At first, I thought the remark was intended as a display of learning; but saw presently that it was a further compliment in reference to the difficulty of communicating by an interpreter. This Fakír, is a very different looking man from his brother. His countenance indicates distrust and suspicion, yet much sagacity. His conversation was marked with good sense, less display, and a more direct "coming to the point," than that of his brother. He has evidently been much in intercourse with the world; and I detected him scrutinizing my countenance with an almost embarrassing closeness. He is about of middle stature, dressed very plainly, and wears a full beard, dyed blue by way of ornament.

February 8.—We went, about 9 o'clock, to pay our respects to the Maha Rajah. He was seated in an open hall on the highest ground in the enclosure where his palace is erected, and was surrounded by about a dozen of his chief men, all dressed very richly, and sitting on very rich crimson cushions. After being seated on the floor like the rest, and after exchanging the usual compliments, I presented the English Bible and Gurmukhi Pentateuch I had brought with me for that purpose. He then asked, without any further introduction, "Where is God?" "It would be as easy to answer the question, Where is he not?" "Well, if you don't know where God is, how can you worship him?" Inferring from what I saw, it was their intention to make a trial of my skill in such subjects, I answered more fully: "We do know that God is every where present; though he specially reveals himself in heaven; that he can see us, though we cannot see him; and that he

has made known in his holy word, (pointing to the Bible I had presented,) how we should worship him." The answer appeared very satisfactory. "What precepts has God given in his word?" I mentioned the two great commandments; which also gave much satisfaction. "But what will be done to those who disobey his commandments?" "God will punish them with eternal suffering in the next world." "If so, why do rulers punish men who commit murder, for instance, in this world?" "Rulers are appointed by God to punish in this world many kinds of wickedness; but all will have to give an account, in the next world, to God, both rulers and subjects." He inquired if that was so written in our Scriptures. I took occasion, then, to mention that "Christians believe that they may avoid the suffering in the next world which is due to all men for sin, by trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ." The questions proposed subsequently did not appear to be intended to "gravel" me; but rather to be prompted by Sikh curiosity. Having inquired about my learning, and whether it included military and medical branches, he made some inquiries about his interview with the Governor General, two or three years ago at Rupar. Then he inquired about my acquaintance with horses; and rising from his cushion he led the way to an outer hall, where being again seated, he asked further questions about my health; whether married; why I wore crape on my hat; why I wore spectacles, &c., to all which I gave briefly the proper answers. Then, telling me that the Fakír would come to see me, and to talk about other subjects, permission was given to take leave.

February 9.—Yesterday afternoon, Fakír Azíz

Ud Dín came again to see me, and two boys presently arrived, wishing to study English under my direction while I remain here. They are the sons of one of the chief ministers. Before they came, the Fakír, inquiring about the books lying on the table, wished to hear me read out of the Greek Testament. I turned to the latter part of the third chapter of John's Gospel, and read the distinct testimony there given to our Saviour's mission. Polite as the Fakír was determined to be, his Mussulman prejudices would not allow him to say "durust khub," (good, excellent,) to all that was read; though he did not manifest the opposition I expected. I had an opportunity of explaining the sense in which Christians hold the doctrine of Father and Son, in the Trinity, which is so very offensive to the Mohammedans, partly because they understand our creed in the sense those terms convey in regard to human relations. Afterwards, I read the apostle's glowing and sublime account of the resurrection, in the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians; with which he was much pleased. The more I see of this man, the higher my opinion rises of his talents and address. There is a sound of sincerity also in his voice, which is pleasing, even though one cannot trust it, because contradicted by the sinister expression of his eye.

In the afternoon to-day, it was announced that the "Bara Fakír," the chief Fakír, was coming—this same man—and presently the news was brought, that he had stopped to say his prayers in the garden. About a quarter of an hour afterwards, he made his appearance, and told me himself that he had been at prayers. I made some remarks about that being a good employment, which led to a long series of remarks and quotations from the

Koran, in Arabic, on the subject of religion, as if he were determined to inflict punishment for the Greek of yesterday. He assented to an observation, that prayers should not be made to be seen of men, and that they should be from the heart, with much cordiality; and went on to give illustrations, which were very appropriate. He informed me at last that he was a Sufi Mussulman, (nearly a freethinker in that church,) and believed in all the prophets; Jewish, Christian, and Mussulman, to the number of many thousand.

One thing in which we both agreed was, that we should not reason or dispute about any thing that God makes known for us to believe; but should receive it at once. I stipulated, however, that we should exercise our reason to judge *what* God had revealed, or what book contained his will. To this he agreed after some demurring. I then wished him, as he was a learned Mussulman, to tell me, in some of his visits, why he believed the Koran to be the word of God. The request was obviously not very agreeable. However, he quoted, in a sort of singing, or chanting tone, a long Arabic sentence from the Koran about God, as our Creator, Preserver, &c.; and ended with telling me, that Mohammed had challenged the Arabs to produce any thing equal to a chapter of the Koran, which he, (the Prophet,) though illiterate, had spoken to them; and, if they could not do so, then they should believe in his mission. The inference from the Fakír's argument was obvious; but as I had previously obtained his consent to hear me explain our religion at some other time, I deemed it best to wave argument on this occasion.

In the evening, a guard of forty soldiers was sent. It would be useless to decline their service;

as it would be said they are necessary for the Maha Rajah's dignity, if not for mine.

February 11.—At an early hour to-day, the Maha Rajah sent one of his officers to conduct me to pay him a visit. He was encamped on the plain about two miles from the city, preparatory to going on a hunting excursion. A regiment of fine looking men were on guard, and a considerable number of fine horses, in which Ranjít takes great pleasure; and some elephants were also brought forward for purposes of parade. The tent, which was quite large, was made of fine Cashmere shawls. In the Rajah's immediate presence there was no particular display of state on this occasion.

He received me with much favour; which I soon perceived was owing not a little to his having heard from his Envoy at Calcutta, that some kind friends there, who are high in office, wished him to show me kind attentions. It is almost amusing to see the anxiety which pervades this court, to please the English authorities. He made some remarks about my having begged to decline accompanying him on his hunting tour; and promised to send for me, if he should find any lions or tigers.

A few days ago, he had sent me an invitation to be present at a public entertainment; which I had accepted at first, but afterwards, on further reflection, had desired to be excused from going, as I learned that a part of the amusement was to consist in the dancing of the Nach girls. The circumstance was quite an awkward one, and I fear gave offence; but I feel glad to have been led to think of the impropriety of being present, before it was too late to draw back. To-day, a good many of his remarks had an indirect reference to

that circumstance. He inquired particularly about our liberty to drink wine, which was part of the amusement, and which, knowing the scruples of the Mussulmans, he may have supposed to have been my real motive for declining. However, I honestly explained, that our religion forbids all loose conduct in women, and also all encouragement of such conduct by men; and that I could not be present without thereby giving the sanction of my influence to the shameful profession of these girls. He said something about their performance being in his presence, and not at my house, and added, "If you have not seen the Nach girls of Lahor, what have you seen?" The higher classes in this country are passionately fond of witnessing these dances. But I persisted in thinking that the influence of my example would be the same in either case, and in declining, with as good a grace as I could, to see them. When he found I was firm, he paid some compliments to my consistency. I note this circumstance the more readily, because it throws some light upon the corrupt manners of this court, and because I felt thankful at having the opportunity of partially explaining the precepts of our religion in regard to a vice which is so very common in that dark land.

February 12.—Fakír Nur Ud Dín to-day remarked, that in his religion their prayers were in Arabic, according to certain forms; and wished me to tell him about our forms of prayer. I mentioned that we were required to pray with the understanding, and therefore made use of a language which we could understand; and that our Sacred Scriptures teach us how to pray, and what to pray for, but give us few forms. After reading Matthew vi. 5—13, we had a long conversation on religion, as

to the mode of obtaining pardon for sin. He urged that it was only necessary to be sorry for it. I referred him to the course of human justice, which mere sorrow could not arrest, and explained to him our belief in the satisfaction which Christ has made. He then professed to believe in the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the Koran; in Moses, Christ, and Mohammed. I referred him to some of the points, not only of difference, but of contradiction, between the latter and the former; especially, that the one requires confidence in Christ Jesus, as Mediator between God and men, and in no other; while the other requires the same confidence in Mohammed, and in no other. He professed to believe them both!

February 15, *Lord's Day.*—The chief Fakír came and spent two or three hours in conversation concerning various important topics of religion. I was glad to find that his brother and himself had been talking the matter over since our last conversation; and this man, to-day, seemed anxious to show that repentance for sin was sufficient in the sight of God to secure its forgiveness. This he illustrated by quoting the example of David, in reference to the sin against Uriah. I was amused at the appearance of the narrative after its Mussulman transmigration: "David was at prayer, during which it is a great sin to think of any thing else, when a very beautiful bird appeared very near him. He was tempted to try to catch it; but it hopped away further and further, until it led him to the parapet of the roof, and then it flew away. But he was thus led to see the wife of his prime minister bathing herself, &c. Then, after he was convinced of his sin, by means of a quarrel between two men, one rich and the other poor, about

a camel, he fasted and wept at the tomb of Uriah, until he obtained his forgiveness for some *unknown* crime; but God would not confirm the pardon, unless he would obtain Uriah's forgiveness for the crime, after making it known to him. Again David fasted and prayed, and wept, for many, many months, at the tomb, and at last God forgave him." I turned to the simple and affecting parable of Nathan, and read it, and also the verses in which punishment was denounced—a part of the narrative which the Mussulman account of the story omits. This answered two purposes; it showed one instance of difference between the Koran and the Bible; and it showed that justice must be satisfied. The Fakír saw the force of another remark—that we are always under the highest obligation to love and serve God; and therefore cannot, in future, atone for past sins, and exclaimed, "Then, what must a man do who has been an infidel for twenty years? Must he always suffer punishment?" This gave me a fine opportunity of mentioning the method of escape through the merits of Christ. I illustrated these remarks by a reference to my own hopes, which seemed to interest his mind.

In regard to the oneness of the Mussulman and Christian systems, the great argument always is, that God may give additional revelation, adapted to the circumstances of different people. After pointing out some essential points of difference, I explained that God had made known that the Gospel was intended for all men in all ages; and therefore it implied a reflection both on his unchangeableness and his wisdom, as well as his truth, to admit the Mussulman system. He asked where it was expressly written that it was intended

always for all. I referred to the commission given by our Saviour at the close of Matthew's and Mark's Gospels, and also the solemn conclusion of the Bible in the last of Revelation. It struck me as singular, that those Fakírs should wish to claim a brotherhood for their system with the Christian. Perhaps it is owing partly to infidelity as to any system, and partly to a wish to rank respectably in the eyes of those whom they see to be so much their superiors in other respects, as Christians usually are.

At parting with this man to-day, I gave him three tracts, and could not but feel grateful that my situation or standing is here so regarded as to secure for them a thankful acceptance, and probably a careful perusal. This is one advantage of making this journey under the circumstances I have made it, to balance some serious disadvantages, that it gives me access to some of the most influential persons in the community. The Lord bless the truth presented in this conversation! The congregation was small—the Fakír, one attendant, and the interpreter—but their souls are of infinite worth, and their conversion would, in human view, produce unspeakably important results.

February 21.—I have spent several afternoons in "sight-seeing," in visiting the principal public buildings and places of interest. The first was a large mosque, from the top of one of whose minarets there is an extensive view of the city and country around. It is in a bad state of repair, and contains nothing worthy of notice, unless it be a kind of inlaying of clay, resembling porcelain, and painted with bright and very durable colours, as they still retain their lustre, though upwards of two hundred years old. Next day, we went to

see the mosque built by the great Akbar, at the north extremity of the city. It has three domes, faced on the outside with white marble, and its four large and lofty minarets, faced with a fine red sandstone, are among the most conspicuous objects in the city. But now all is in a state of ruinous decay, the whole place being used as barracks for a company of infantry, who pile up their arms in one apartment of the most sacred part of the mosque, while they sleep in another. These minarets are probably one hundred and twenty feet high. It is said that this mosque was built after the model of the Juma Masjíd, at Delhi; but it is every way inferior to that celebrated building. A branch of the Raví washes the northern foundation of this mosque. The palace of Akbar contains one tolerably good hall of audience, open on three sides, supported by graceful marble columns, and having a recess on the fourth side for the royal seat—all on the same plan, and nearly as good as in the palace at Delhi. But in what a changing world we live! In the hall where suppliant princes once knelt in the great emperor's presence, Ranjít now keeps picketed among the marble columns some half a dozen horses! There are various apartments adjoining this hall of audience; some of them designed for the females of the Rajah's family; others covered with paintings of Hindu gods and goddesses. Among the paintings are two representing Ranjít as a suppliant, but standing before Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh; while another is intended to represent his interview with Lord William Bentinck at Rupar. The English people, in the hands of the artist, have been made to present a most ridiculous appearance. The art of painting is obviously in a rude state

among these people. But these efforts attracted many exclamations of good, good, from the attendants. The best parts of the display of taste are the numerous jets d'eau, to keep the air fresh and cool.

In visiting these "lions" of the city, we usually rode on an elephant—the best mode in such dirty streets as we had to traverse. A sewer, containing black, filthy mud and water, runs in the middle of every street, threatening defilement, unless a person is elevated too high to be spattered when a galloping horse dashes along. The streets, moreover, are all so very narrow that two elephants cannot pass, nor even a camel and an elephant, as we had frequent opportunities of seeing, and sometimes at no little expense of patience, in waiting until the way could be made clear. To meet a string of some twenty or thirty camels, as we did one evening, is no very agreeable matter to a person who may wish to lose no time.

The houses are from three to five stories high, and nearly all built of bricks that have been dug out of the ruins of the old city. Their appearance, therefore, is quite in keeping with that of the streets. They are built very densely together; the narrow bazars are crowded, and the streets are full of people; so that the population seems to be very great, and not to be diminishing, as I had understood. The walls of the city, and its mosques, and the fort, certainly do present the appearance of decay. But that seems to be owing to the Maha Rajah's neglect. He takes more interest in building up Amritsir. The population of Lahor cannot be less, I should think, than one hundred thousand; yet the present city is a mere village compared with the ancient, if an opinion may be formed from the

ruins of the latter. Those extend about four or five miles in length, by three in breadth; and even now, upwards of fifty large mosques, and other public buildings remain, besides a great number of smaller ones—all, however, in a most ruinous condition.

February 23.—To-day, a respectable Maulaví came to see me. He had a sword sticking at one side of his sash, and a pistol at the other. In other respects, his appearance was very pleasing, being a middle-aged man, of an intelligent, lively countenance. I inquired how he accounted for the apparent change in the spirit of Mussulmans, so that we now seldom hear of force being employed to make converts; and also, how he justified the use of the sword in making proselytes. The questions were rather difficult to answer. However, he referred to the command of God in the Koran—thought the practice proper only when the infidels refused to believe after suitable efforts had been made to convince them, and concluded with the usual remark, that it is not proper to *reason* about God's commandments. The latter remark I, of course, assented to, when we know what God has commanded, but not till then. I explained to him our mode of advocating Christianity; adding, that, as to those who refuse to believe in Jesus, we think it both their loss and their sin. For the former, we pity them; and, as to the latter, we are not able to punish them as they deserve, but prefer to leave them in the hands of God; and then asked, which plan he thought most honourable to the character of God? After approving of our method, he evaded expressing an opinion as to which is best. On promising him the loan of a Testament, he took leave. He says there are about a dozen Maulavís in this city.

CHAPTER XII.

RANJIT SINGH'S HUNTING EXCURSION — NOTES ON THE PANJAB, AND THE SIKHS.

Leave Lahor for the hunting ground—Hunting Company —Manner of despatching business at Court—Dismission granted—Notes on the Panjáb and the Sikhs.

February 28.—Agreeably to an arrangement made within the last few days, I left Lahor this afternoon, to join the Maha Rajah on the hunting ground. Fakír Nur Ud Dín came to conduct me out of the city. We had some conversation about the prophecies contained in our Sacred Scriptures, which grew out of an inquiry of his about the foretelling of the future by astrology. He wished to know what would come to pass according to our prophecies. After referring him to several that have been fulfilled, I read some passages out of Isaiah concerning the future progress of the gospel. They appeared interesting to him, though he did not express any opinion about them. I could not but offer up a silent prayer that we may soon witness their fulfilment. Afterwards, I gave him about a dozen of tracts, as a parting gift; with which he was pleased. Crossed the Raví about six miles to the southwest, and encamped in the midst of wheat fields two or three miles from the ferry. The waters of this river are of a red muddy colour. It flows here through a flat country, and is about forty or fifty yards wide. The fields of grain on its banks are extremely fine.

March 1, *Lord's Day.*—Halted to-day, though not so much to the satisfaction of the people as on a former occasion. Word has been received that

a tiger has been found, and they are anxious to reach the hunting party so as to partake in the sport. The Maha Rajah, too, would no doubt prefer my omitting to observe this day; but it is better to please God than man.

March 2.—To Mahadevi, ten miles over a barren heath, without any cultivation, or any production, except a sort of desert grass and some stunted thorn-trees. We learned, as we drew near the camp, that the tiger had been killed yesterday, much to the regret of the people with me.

In the afternoon I went with the Maha Rajah and his people on their daily hunt. The company was very singular in appearance to my eye, consisting of several hundred men, in white, yellow, and red, and often very rich, robes and uniforms; some on elephants, of which there were nearly thirty; some on camels; many on all sorts of horses, from the very finest to the most sorry; and more still on foot, some carrying guns, others swords, others spears and shields; some leading dogs, others carrying falcons; and all this cavalcade in the midst of a barren plain, covered only with densely standing long grass, and scrub thorn bushes. We took a circuit of several miles, but started nothing, except a few birds and deer. There is no little enthusiasm of feeling on such an occasion; and I was not sorry to have the opportunity of seeing this favourite sport of eastern kings. Had some miscellaneous conversation with the Rajah by the way, and more after our return. Almost the only topic of importance was a statement, on being asked if I had read the books of different religious systems, that the Christian religion differed from others chiefly in teaching that all men are sinners, and that Christ died to open

the way for pardon to be given; and hence it is that we love him so much. To all which, at the end of each clause, the Maha Rajah gave his short, but expressive "*thik*"—good. I was not sorry to find that my declining to see the dancing girls had been thought about; and it led to a question or two which opened the door for stating the seventh commandment, and some other duties.

March 3.—To a village five miles east of Mahadeví. While at the Court, after arriving, the Maha Rajah transacted some business of an unimportant nature. It was curious to see the half-business, half-conversational manner of their proceeding. As each item was mentioned, something was said by him either of approbation, or to modify it—which was assented to by the courtiers seated around, who had hardly ventured even to make a suggestion; while anecdotes, remarks about different persons, queries to myself, &c. occupied so much attention, that only the writers appeared to be employed in business. They watched their opportunity, when there was any interval in the miscellaneous talk, to read the statement they were making. I had mentioned during the ride, that if the *Granth* were a printed book it would not cost more probably than twenty rupees. This remark the Rajah repeated in court, and it became the subject of a good deal of conversation. A manuscript copy costs from one hundred to two hundred rupees.

March 4.—To the encampment between the three villages about four miles south of yesterday's halting place. The Maha Rajah set out in the morning without sending me word of his movements. I was not sorry to have the opportunity of declining to go in the sun, and so refused to fol-

low, until I should be so inclined. This measure no doubt was *not* gratifying; but I do not feel it to be a duty to ride in the sun and dust among the crowd where so little seems now likely to be gained for any general object.

March 5.—This afternoon I obtained my dismission. Previously the chief minister had informed me of the Khilat, or present, that would be given; which, though it is customary to give on such occasions, was yet on a much more liberal scale, than I had expected. The Maha Rajah was in high good humour when we were present. I took opportunity to explain my connection with the Missionary Society, and that the presents he had been so kind as to give me, would be made over to them. He listened with a half-incredulous air; but it occurred to me to illustrate the matter by a reference to a rule of the East India Company, requiring their servants to deliver all presents that may be made to them to the proper officer. With this rule he is well acquainted, and the reference seemed satisfactory, but led to various questions about the society: Is it a Government Company? What objects? I explained the manner in which funds were raised; and that they were given thus by religious people, to promote religion and education; and also, that those who were sent as missionaries were influenced by religious motives, receiving from the Societies merely what was sufficient for their comfortable support; adding, that some of them might have received larger salaries at home. This he evidently did not believe; but he seemed interested by the explanation; praised the conduct of the people in forming such a Society; wished to know if I would give them these presents; and added, that I must tell

them, at any rate, that he gave the horse (a fine Turkman pony) to myself, not to the Society. When I had explained that the Society was not a Government concern, he wished to know about the *padris*, what connection they had with the Government. I explained, that it was merely that of other citizens. "What! if a padrí commits a crime, will they punish him like another man?" "Certainly." This he deemed wonderful; and certainly it is very different from the impunity with which the akalís commit the most disgraceful crimes here. I could not but feel grateful for the difference. I was very glad to have the opportunity of making this explanation in regard to these presents. It may remove, in part, the impression that I am influenced merely by selfish and pecuniary views. But I fear this impression will remain, notwithstanding, on the minds of many of these people. On the whole, I think it would have been better to have declined receiving any of the presents, if it could have been done without giving too much offence.

In the evening, the chief Fakír came to bid me good-bye; and afterwards the Rajah's chief Munshí, Kahand Chand, who has been with me, by the appointment of Ranjít Singh, since leaving Lahor. The latter is a most respectable man, of clear, good mind, and pleasing manners, without the obsequiousness so common, and with much apparent sincerity. I have become much interested in him. We had a good deal of conversation, chiefly on religious subjects. He inquired what was the appearance of God, how we could think of him, &c. In reply, I illustrated my remarks by referring to our own spirits. He seemed interested in hearing of the way our Sacred Scriptures

teach that sin can be pardoned, and also of the intellectual and social elevation of the female sex in Christian countries. He wished to know whether their advantages were owing to our religion, or to our usage or custom. I told him of their condition when our forefathers were heathens. Expressing his warm wishes that my health may be restored, so that I might remain in this country, and he might become better acquainted with me in future; kind feelings which I sincerely reciprocated with my best wishes in return; we exchanged our last farewell. I could not but feel sorry at parting with these men. In many respects, they are interesting men, whose acquaintance I have been glad to make, and with whom my intercourse has been of both a varied and friendly nature. But now we have parted, most probably never to meet again. What a precious hope Christian friends enjoy when separated! Whatever be their path on earth, they can look upwards to a place of meeting, to say, Farewell, no more for ever!

The following summary views of the information acquired during this tour was communicated to the Secretary of the Society, on returning to Lodiana.

1. *Population.*—It is not easy to form an estimate that would be at all exact. It is probable that Ranjít Singh's rule extends over two millions of persons; of whom the greater part occupy the country bounded by the Sutlej, the Indus, and the Himalaya mountains, including the valley of Cashmere, and the Hill States on the south-western sides of those mountains from the river Sutlej to Cashmere. Ranjít has, within the last few years, made some conquests on the other side of the Indus; and has, at present, the possession of

Peshawer, one of the chief Affghan cities. It is doubtful whether he will be able, or deem it expedient, to retain those conquests.

2. *Climate.*—The name *Panjáb*, in strict propriety, belongs only to the plains; while a large section of the country, descending from the Himalaya mountains, is quite hilly. Both these regions, and also part of the region south and east of the Sutlej, are classed by the older writers under the general name of the Provinces of Lahor; of which the population is said to be about four million. The climate of the plains is much more oppressively hot during the warm season of the year, that is, from March to November, than that of the hills. The heat is probably as great as in almost any part of Upper India; and there is the same variation of seasons, as hot, rainy, &c. In the cold season the thermometer falls as low sometimes as the freezing point, in the plains. Last winter, in which there were some *very* cold mornings, the thermometer, at Lodiana, was once down to 28° in the open air at sunrise. Lodiana is in nearly the same latitude as Lahor, and about equally distant from the hills. Throughout this region, the *hot* winds begin to blow in April, and are very trying to the constitution of foreigners.

3. *Language.*—The spoken language seems to be substantially that of the Hindus generally. It is, however, called the Panjábí, and contains an admixture of many Persian words. There are three or four characters in use: the *Persian*, for the Persian language, and also for the Hindustání; the *Dev Nagari*, for the Hinduí, which differs but little from the Hindustání; the *Gurmukhi*, for the written language of the Sikhs; the *Kashmíri*, for the written language of Cashmere. The two last

characters are obviously derived from the Nagarí; and I should think the dialects, which receive these names, differ but little from the common language of the Hindus.

4. *Education.*—It is not probable that one person of every hundred is able to read. Of those who can read, the four-fifths, probably, read only the Persian. A few of the Sikhs read the Gurmukhí; and a few of the Cashmerians, perhaps, read Kashmírí. I say *perhaps;* for I never met with a Cashmerian who could read that character; though I have met with several who could read the Persian.

Of those, who acquire a knowledge of their written language, few learn any thing beyond the simplest rudiments. There are scarcely any books, and there are none adapted for purposes of instruction. The schools are very few, and under the worst management. Sometimes the teachers are paid by religious persons, or else, as is most common, are themselves religious persons, such as Fakírs. In other instances, a trifling sum is paid by each scholar. No effort is made to discipline, or excite the minds of the scholars. Every thing is learned by rote. In the Mussulman schools, for higher scholars, one of the first things is to teach the boy to read the Koran in Arabic, without even pretending to teach him the meaning of a single word. And this is considered rather a high attainment. It is common for Hindu and Sikh religious people, that is, pundits and gurus, and sometimes the Mussulman maulavís, to expound their respective sacred writings at their religious places; and from them a species of knowledge is learned by some of the people. But in all the parts of India, where I have been, it is not unusual to see a religious man bawling away without receiving the

least attention; though he may be sitting in the most sacred place, and reading, or rather chanting, their most sacred writings.

5. *Government.*—Originally, the people were governed by numerous chiefs, who were independent of each other, though of very unequal power. These chiefs were brought into subjection to Ranjit Singh, who would no doubt have extended his power over the chiefs on this side the Sutlej also, if they had not applied for and received English protection. Some of the conquered chiefs Ranjit removed altogether from their possessions; others he permitted to retain their districts, variously modified; but exacted from them a kind of tribute—either a quota of troops or an annual payment in money; or in some cases both of these acknowledgments of subjection. On the death of one of these inferior rulers, further changes were often made; though the general usage is that the son shall succeed the father. Frequently persons in favour are rewarded with tracts of country in *jaghir*, that is, for which they pay a specified sum, and then have the entire management of the revenue, justice, &c., of these particular districts. Of course, they may act as oppressively as they please; and usually do extort as large an amount from the poor people as they can. It is very seldom that any appeal is made; as it would require too much money, in the shape of bribes to the courtiers, to bring grievances to the notice of the Maha Rajah; and as it would not be certain that redress would be obtained, even if a hearing could be secured. It was very much owing to the oppressive administration of one of these favourites, or rather of his myrmidons, that the beautiful valley of Cashmere has become so desolate.

This mode of government probably suits Ranjit's acquirements better than any other. As he can neither read nor write, it would be troublesome to examine the usual forms and records of proceedings; while now he holds comparatively a few persons responsible for certain, specified sums. Yet it is obviously liable to great abuse. Some of the Sardars, or chiefs, have large revenues. One or two have each about twelve lakhs of rupees yearly, equal to six hundred thousand dollars; another, seven lakhs; another, five, &c., but the greater part of them are much less powerful. The chiefs are all Sikhs, I believe; but many holders of jaghírs are Hindus and Mussulmans. There seems to be no *law*, in the Panjáb; though there is, in regard to many things, long established custom. By all accounts, justice would seem to be regarded as a thing to be bought and sold. Punishment, even for murder, is said to be rarely inflicted, when a sufficient sum of money can be offered by the criminal. Fines are the most common punishment.

Ranjít Singh is certainly a man of superior mind, and of no ordinary character. All his measures, and all his conversation, evince great sagacity, prudence, and acquaintance with the strong points of the subject under his consideration. He is much superior to many of the prejudices and jealousies so common among the Hindus, and seems anxious to imitate those things in the policy or the customs of other people which are better than his own. Thus, he has introduced the manufacture, amongst his people, of various foreign implements of war, of several fabrics of cloth, &c. But the most striking illustration of this remark is probably the change he has effected in the military

force of the Sikhs. Formerly, every Sikh was a horseman, and no other kind of force was in existence than this rude cavalry. Ranjít took into his service several French officers, followed their advice after carefully comparing it with the English mode of warfare; and now he has a large and pretty well organized and disciplined army of infantry, with the usual proportion of artillery. He was, in his younger days, of dissipated habits, the effects of which he now feels severely. He is of a licentious disposition; fond of display, yet avaricious; very inquisitive; inclined to pay a superstitious reverence to holy men, even though of a different religion; passionately fond of fine horses; very anxious to please the English; about sixty three years of age. What a confused account of his character, you will be ready to say! So it is; yet it is not more miscellaneous than the character itself.

It is understood, that he is anxious his grandson should succeed himself in the chief rule. But there is no particular bond of union, excepting the personal reputation and force of Ranjít himself, to prevent the political affairs of the Panjáb from relapsing into their former anarchy. The moment Ranjít dies, it is highly probable that all this region of country will be in confusion, and a dozen of chiefs will declare themselves independent. Perhaps such a state of things will then follow as will bring the Panjáb under British protection, and make the Indus, instead of the Sutlej, the frontier line. Such a change would be fraught with blessings to the people.*

* This ruler has been called hence by death. His obsequies were celebrated with great parade and expense, and a dreadful tragedy was witnessed in the self-immola-

6. *Religion.*—The great majority of the people of the Panjáb are Hindus, especially of the lower classes. The Mussulmans are treated with less forbearance and favour than the Hindus; and form, perhaps, a fourth or fifth part of the inhabitants. The Sikhs are said not to constitute more than a twelfth or fifteenth part of the population. They evidently are much more allied to the Hindus than to the Mussulmans in their worship, and in their customs.—The system of *caste* prevails, more or less, among all these sects; though, in regard to the Sikhs and to the Mussulmans, it is not enjoined by their religion; or rather, it is contrary to their creed; especially to that of the Sikhs; but throughout India *custom* is all-powerful. It is supposed that this detestable system has less hold on the affections of the people in this part of India, than in most other regions of the country. Hindus, when they become Sikhs, do not renounce caste, except as it bears on one or two inferior points. In the more important matters of food, and of matrimonial connections, they adhere as rigidly as ever to the requisitions of their caste.

The Sikhs are divided into two general classes, the *Sikhs*, and the *Singhs*—the disciples and the lions, as the terms literally import. The latter title is given to the followers of Guru Govind Singh,

tion on his funeral pile of no less than eleven women! Four of his wives and seven concubines cast themselves into the flames which consumed his body, and miserably perished!—The Panjáb continued for some time in a quiet state under his sons, who succeeded to the throne, but recent accounts represent that country as in a most unsettled condition. The opinion expressed in the text, about the extension of the British power over the Panjáb, seems now, 1842, likely soon to become a matter of history.

who infused a military spirit into the Sikh religion. The term Singh does not exclude, however, the use of the common appellative, *Sikh;* but is rather employed as a part of individual names; while the other title is given to all the followers of that religion. There are some points of difference in the faith of the two classes; but they relate chiefly to the more military spirit of the followers of Govind Singh. Hamilton remarks in his Gazetteer:

"The religion of the Sikhs is described as a creed of pure deism, blended with the belief of all the absurdities of Hindu mythology, and the fables of Mohammedanism. Nanak Shah (the founder of this religion) professed a desire to reform, but not to destroy the religion of the sect in which he was born; and endeavoured to reconcile the jarring faiths of Brahma and Mohammed, by persuading each to reject particular parts of their respective belief and usages.

"The earlier successors of Nanak taught nearly the same doctrine; but Guru Govind gave a new character to the religion of his followers by many material alterations; more especially by the abolition of all distinctions of caste. The pride of descent might still remain and keep up some distinction; but in the *religious creed* of Guru Govind all Sikhs, or Singhs, are declared equal. The admission of proselytes, the abolition of caste, the eating of all kinds of flesh except that of cows, the form of religious worship [having no idols or representatives of God] and the general devotion of the Singhs to arms, are all at variance with the Hindu theology."

Again. "The Sikh Hindu converts continue all those civil usages and customs of the tribe to which they belonged, that they can practise with-

out infringing the tenets of Nanak or the institutions of Guru Govind. They are very strict respecting diet and intermarriages. The Mohammedan converts, who become Sikhs, intermarry with each other; but are allowed to preserve none of their usages, being obliged to eat hog's flesh, and to abstain from circumcision. The Sikhs, or Singhs, are forbidden the use of tobacco; but are allowed to indulge in spirituous liquors, which they all drink to excess. The use of opium and bang is also quite common. The military Sikhs never cut their hair, nor shave their beards," and are required to wear *steel*, in some shape, as a badge of their sect.

The religious people of the Sikhs, or rather, of those Sikhs who are followers of Guru Govind, are called *Akalis*, that is immortals; or more frequently by the natives *Nihangs*. They formerly directed the national council when it was assembled, the Guru-mala; but there has been no meeting of that body since 1805, and there will not probably ever be another. I have not been able to learn that they have any particular duties to perform as ministers of religion. I should think they correspond rather to the religious mendicants of the Hindus. Their number is variously estimated. Perhaps, including their families, it may amount to thirteen thousand persons, or some three or four thousand men. They receive their support chiefly from offerings made to the Sikh temples; particularly at Amritsir, where it is said there are nearly two thousand of these Akalis. Others, however, hold small jaghírs from the Government. Their character is exceedingly bad. They are a lawless and desperately depraved set of men. Some of the most shameless things I

have ever heard of have been done in open daylight, in public places, by some of these people. The common remark is, that they are the worst people in the land. They always go strongly armed; and as they are quite fanatical, persons of other religious sects have much to fear from their approach. In 1808, a large body of them attacked the English Ambassador, then in the Panjáb, who was obliged, with his guard, to fight for his life. They have even insulted Ranjít Singh; but he has, within a few years, imposed some restraints on them; and they are now regarded as less dangerous, though not less depraved, than they were formerly. There is, perhaps, reason to hope that the very wickedness of these people will contribute much to cut short their sway, and to render men more willing to receive the teachers of our mild and pure religion.

Amritsir is the chief place of religious resort; but, in addition to the sacred reservoir at that city, there are several other places of religious notoriety; as the birth place of Nanak, &c. Some of the Sikhs make pilgrimages, also, to the great Hindu place of worship at Hardwar. At Amritsir there are a number of *gurus*, or religious teachers, whose business it is to read and to explain the *Granth*, their sacred book. Some of them are very respectable looking men.

Concerning the expediency of forming at that time a mission establishment in the Panjáb, the following extract from a letter of March 26, 1835, will show the opinions formed after making this journey.

"I have been much impressed with the importance of having an efficient mission in this field—in the first instance at Lodiana, and perhaps at

some other places on the British side of the Sutlej, but eventually to operate directly in the Panjáb.

"In these regions there are dense multitudes of people; not at all inferior in body or mind, naturally, to any other that I have ever seen, and far superior to the great mass of Hindus—being energetic, inquisitive, and sagacious; occupying, also, a tract of country that is immediately connected with several other countries in which nothing has yet been attempted in making known our Saviour's gospel. The claims of the people of the Panjáb themselves, are very great on our benevolence, and require an extensive and efficient effort to meet them; and they assume still greater importance when we consider that these are just the people, in character and in geographical situation, to carry the knowledge of our salvation throughout Central Asia. They have not now either knowledge or inclination to do so. They are themselves dark-minded and depraved. But I trust our little mission is the morning star that is to precede the full day of gospel light and influence among this interesting people.

"I am not prepared, however, to say, that it seems expedient to attempt forming a branch of our mission on that side of the Sutlej at present, though it might be practicable to do so. We had better occupy first some of the important places which are open to us in the part of India under English rule or direct influence, where we are not so liable to capricious interruption, and where we can enjoy some advantages from the intercourse, and in some instances, from the friendship of Europeans. There are several places on this side of Benares, where it would be extremely desirable to have such a mission as that of our American

brethren in Ceylon, there being ample scope for the largest efforts."

CHAPTER XIII.

LODIANA TO SIMLA; THE HILL TRIBES.

Arrival of the Rev. Messrs. Wilson and Newton at Calcutta —Leave Lodiana for Simla—English Society—Notes on the Protected Hill States—Face of the Country—Snowy Mountains—Productions, Animals, Climate—Population, Agriculture—Religion, Language—Character of the People—Valley of Kanaur.

After reaching Lodiana, on my return from Lahor, I had the great satisfaction of receiving letters from my missionary brethren, the Rev. Messrs. John Newton and James Wilson, just arrived with their wives at Calcutta, and accompanied by Miss Davis. Though so far distant, and so many months would intervene before they could reach Lodiana, I could not but feel most grateful that they were in the country, thus relieving me of a responsibility which should never rest on one man, that of laying the foundation of a system of efforts for the conversion of multitudes; and at the same time giving the best assurance that the mission now partially established would be extended and carried forward by the Church. Often, in hours of depression, I had been ready to give way to discouragement, fearing that our efforts must be suspended, if not altogether abandoned. The prospect now appeared far brighter.

Messrs. Wilson and Newton reached Calcutta on the 25th of February, 1835, after a very favourable voyage of one hundred and ten days, in the ship Georgia, from Boston. Stopping at Calcutta until the 25th of June, they then commenced their voyage up the Ganges in a pinnace, a larger boat than a budgerow, intending to proceed in tents after leaving the river at Futtehgurh, and expecting to reach Lodiana about the 1st of November. Miss Davis afterwards became connected in marriage with the Rev. Mr. Goadby, a worthy Baptist missionary from the province of Orissa, south of Bengal.

In the meantime, following the doctor's advice, I had gone up to Simla to spend the hot and rainy seasons of the year. This is a station to which many Europeans resort for health, its elevation making the temperature pleasant even in the hottest days on the plains. The houses are built around the sides of what is called Mount Jakko, perhaps five hundred feet below the summit of the mountain, which is about eight thousand feet high. Many of the houses stand in the midst of the forest trees, detached from each other; and they have a singularly wild prospect, as the descent below them is precipitous and deep, into the narrow valleys that lead off in different directions, and the sublime snowy ranges can be seen in the distance. The number of natives at Simla is not large; in the winter it is almost deserted; but during the six or seven months that Europeans spend there, many petty shopkeepers, of different kinds, bring their articles of traffic from the plains, and give to the Simla bazar rather a lively appearance. The whole native population never exceeds, probably, a few hundred. Of English people, during

the summer of 1835, there were from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty, including a number of ladies. This was a larger number, I was informed, than had visited the station at any previous season.

Of the Europeans some were decidedly religious people, and I should suppose nearly all were respectful towards religious institutions; the attendance on our service on Sundays often amounted to eighty, which was considered a good number, as some were often absent on tours into the interior, and others were in poor health. It has seldom been my good fortune to meet with so many intelligent and agreeable people out of so small a company; and those with whom I was less acquainted I am not disposed to think less interesting. Of the more religiously inclined visitors I cannot speak too highly. I admired the character of their religion, which I thought unaffected, teachable, and cordial, and at the same time well informed and cheerful. Of the ladies it becomes me to speak with due reserve, and yet thankfulness for their kindness must be my excuse for paying my willing tribute to their agreeable manners and their unaffected excellence. I thought them in manner, accomplishment, and intelligence, very similar to ladies of our best society at home. Many very pleasant and well-spent hours were enjoyed with these Christian friends. The remembrance of them is still fresh, and must ever be sacred. And now widely separated from them, and they from each other, my fervent prayer is that we may hereafter meet in a better world.

During this summer I endeavoured to obtain accurate information concerning the Hill States, making tours into the interior for this purpose, and

consulting with English gentlemen who had lived in them a number of years. The following notes were made out shortly after leaving the Hills; they present the result of the summer's inquiries and observations in regard to a peculiar region of India, and a simple minded and primitive people.

The people, who inhabit the hilly region which lies between the snowy Himalaya mountains and the Plains of India, are divided into numerous small states, under their own chiefs; and, as they have been under the protection of the British power for several years, they are usually called "*The Protected Hill States.*" The information concerning them, which the following notes contain, has been collected chiefly from intercourse with various persons, European and Native, and from personal observation during seven months' residence in the hills.

1. As already intimated, the snowy mountains and the level plains of upper India are the two chief *Boundaries* of this region. Between them, and extending in a direction parallel to those mountains, that is, from North West to South East, these hill states are situated. The river Sutlej (Sutlege) forms the dividing line between them and the similar regions belonging to Ranjit Singh, the Ruler of Lahor. In the opposite, or South Eastern direction, the west branch of the river *Gogra* separates them from the territories of Nepal.

The length of this region is probably between one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles; and the breadth may be stated at from fifty to seventy or eighty miles. Yet this estimate must be regarded as not very definite, since it is modified by the character of the country in particular places. The valley of *Kanaur*, for example, belongs to one

of these states. It is almost entirely surrounded by the regions of snow, and extends towards Chinese Tartary perhaps not less than one hundred and fifty miles from the nearest part of the Plains.

2. *The Face of the Country* is extremely irregular and *hilly* as the name of the chiefdoms implies. Yet the term *hills* can be used to describe these mountainons regions only for the convenience of having some word to distinguish them from the snowy regions, as the peaks and ridges of these lower mountains rise to an elevation of from two thousand to upwards of six thousand feet in height, and not a few eight thousand, nine thousand, &c. In many parts of the world such elevations would be accounted lofty mountains; and might be so considered here, were it not that the snowy regions are always seen towering up to such a height, that these mountains seem but hills in comparison with them. These mountains resemble a large number of high, irregular peaks and ridges *jumbled* together in every kind of confusion, or at any rate, of variety. But frequently, one peak or short ridge perhaps, may be seen rising considerably higher than its neighbours; and often, an irregular ridge may be traced for several miles, leading, in many instances, from one of these high peaks to others. Thus *Jako*, the mountain around the sides of which the Station of *Simla* is built, is about eight thousand feet; and from Jako a lofty but crooked ridge runs ten or twelve miles eastward to *Mahassu*, a mountain nearly nine thousand feet high. In no part of these regions do the mountains run in regular ranges, with level valleys intervening, like our Allegheny Mountains. Indeed between the peaks or the ridges there is seldom any level ground at all;

but their sides decline at varying inclinations from the top to the bottom. The sides are frequently quite abrupt or precipitous, and commonly very irregular. At the bottom, or foot of the mountain in the Kud, as it is called, a water channel usually forms the boundary between one mountain and its adjoining neighbour. The northern sides of these mountains are sometimes covered with dense pine forests; but the southern and south-eastern sides are commonly destitute of any kind of trees, and present a barren and cheerless aspect, possessing little interest, except where the people have been able to cultivate them. It may be owing to the effects of the rains, during the rainy season (which beat with greatest violence on the south-east sides of the mountains.) that there is so marked a difference between their different sides.

The great defect in the scenery of these mountains is the want of water. There are but few streams; and such as do exist are commonly very small, except during the rains when every valley has its foaming torrent. At other seasons of the year, a person may travel "up and down hill" all the day without seeing a brook, or even a spring; unless he ascends some of the highest peaks, or descends quite to the bottom of some of the valleys.

3. Concerning *the Snowy Mountains*, it is not necessary to attempt giving any particular descriptions, except as their appearance from these Hill regions seems to deserve some notice in an account of the latter. In clear weather, those stupendous mountains are seen in distinct and interesting view from all the higher parts of the Protected Hill States, that is, from all the places where the view is not obstructed, as it is in the valleys. They

may also be seen very distinctly from many places in the Plains of Upper India, when the atmosphere is clear, and especially after there has been rain. There is an extremely fine distant view of them from *Lodiana*, although that city cannot be less than from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles distant from the mountains. From *Simla* the nearer ranges of snow-covered mountains are not distant in a direct line more than thirty or forty miles probably.

The view of those mountains, as seen from several places in these Hill States, is extremely grand. I have looked at them for hours from the summit of *Hatu*, and also of *Kupar;* the former ten thousand six hundred feet high; the latter eleven thousand feet. These mountains, themselves covered with snow during several months of the year, are not distant probably more than fifteen or twenty miles from the regions of perpetual snow; so that, in a clear day, the view is perfectly well-defined, and beyond description imposing. The peaks and ridges, viewed from this side, seem to have nearly all of them a slight inclination to the north-east. They appear much less varied in shape than a person may suppose they would appear if deprived of their snowy covering. The snow, no doubt, conceals many an irregular projection, and many a frightful chasm, and gives an air of uniformity to the outline of the whole. The valleys are generally much filled with snow, which sometimes rises almost to the summits of the ridges, and must be of immense depth. In so near a view, the snow which fills the valleys can often be distinguished from that which rests on the ridges and peaks, by its inclination, and by its more settled or dense appearance. But most of

the peaks and ridges are themselves quite covered with snow. They are very irregular: some are formed into long ranges; others shoot up in separate elevations of almost every shape, looking sometimes like immense battlements and towers, and sometimes like lofty piles of vast dilapidated buildings. At a distant view in the afternoon, they look not unlike great masses or embankments of white clouds, brilliantly reflecting the rays of the sun. Sometimes a dark, rugged peak projects above the snow, being probably too vertical to admit of the snow's resting upon it, and affords a striking contrast to the pure and peaceful appearance of the surrounding snow. The difference of their appearance before and after the rains is considerable as much of the snow becomes melted, leaving the summits, especially of the nearer and lower ranges, more naked and dark. The heights of a number of the most elevated peaks have been carefully ascertained. Not less than seven are upwards of twenty-two thousand feet high; one of which, *Dewalagíri*, is about twenty-seven thousand feet, and three others about twenty-five thousand feet. These loftiest parts of our globe, though distinctly higher than other parts of the Himalaya ranges, are yet not very prominently so.

The snowy mountains may sometimes be traced at one view from the north-west towards the south-east for several hundred miles. There is something adapted to awaken deeply serious feelings in one's mind, to look at peak after peak stretching away in the distance, and then to invest each successive elevation with the well defined but cold majesty which seems to repose on the nearer mountains. These snow-covered mountains certainly awaken feelings quite different from any I

have ever been conscious of when looking at other mountains. These seem too pure for earth; too unchanging for time. A person is ready to look on them as if they were regions commencing another world. They are certainly adapted to elevate the thoughts and feelings to a higher world. They bear their solemn testimony to God's unchanging greatness with a force that mere words could never impress on the mind. The Christian's mind is rendered deeply reverential. It is filled with thoughts and feelings like those of the Psalmist when surveying the heavens: "Lord, what is *man* that thou art mindful of him!"

Considering the blinding influence of our depraved nature on the mental perceptions, it is scarcely wonderful, that the poor Hindu should, in all ages, have raised to these snow-covered mountains "an eye of religious veneration." "In the Hindu Pantheon, Himalaya is deified, and described as the father of the Ganges and her sister Ooma; the latter being the spouse of Mahadeva, or Siva, the destroying power." But we may hope, as well as pray, that the glorious light of the Gospel shall soon spread over India. Then the Hindu shall raise his eye to those lofty summits only to aid his mind in elevating its thoughts to the throne of the great Creator, there to render the homage of humility and of adoration.

4. There are few *Rivers* of any note in the Protected Hill regions; though both the Ganges and the Jumna take their rise in them. The Sutlej runs nearly a hundred miles of its course in the country protected by the British, and then forms the boundary, as already mentioned, separating that country from Ranjit Singh's possessions. It is not at all navigable in the Hills. During the

greater part of its course among the mountains, the descent of the water is very great, and the current is extremely rapid and tumultuous. There are several small streams, sometimes called rivers, of which I have seen only one deserving of notice —the *Giri*. At probably twenty miles distance from its source, and thence fifty or sixty miles to its junction with the Jumna, it is about twenty yards wide, with an average depth of two feet; having a current of from four to six miles an hour. Its water is remarkably clear, and runs over a rocky or pebbly bed, sometimes descending considerable declivities with great noise. A few fish are caught in this stream. Commonly, the streams of water in these hills are quite destitute of fish.

5. Among the *Trees* and *Productions* of these regions, the *pine* is the most common; of which there are five or six species. The larch and the cedar are most frequently met with. The former resembles our American white pine; and the latter, the species which in some places is called "spruce pine." One variety of the pine in the interior bears a small, oblong, and rich fruit, of which most persons are quite fond. It is called *pneoza* pine. There is a species of oak; but small in size. On the sides of the higher mountains the maple, birch, horse-chestnut, &c. are seen. The Rhododendron is every where common. It grows to the height of the locust or sassafras trees of America, and presents an extremely fine appearance in the months of March and April, when covered over with its large and gorgeous scarlet flowers. The apricot is common, and bears an excellent fruit. Peaches do not come to maturity, in consequence of the rains. The apples are tolerable, though found only in one or two of the val-

leys. They would become very good, a person might suppose, if proper care were employed in grafting. Black currants are abundant in some parts. In *Kunaur*. one of the valleys, there are several varieties of the grape, which form a good part of the subsistence of the inhabitants, being dried for that purpose. They are not made into wine; though sometimes a strong and very intoxicating liquor is manufactured from them. Walnut trees and wild pears are often seen. Plantains, oranges, mangoes, &c. are found in the valleys near the Plains.

No precious *Metals*, lead, coal, nor salt, have yet been discovered. In a few places iron ore is found. The natives have very small and simple furnaces, in which they make an inferior kind of iron. The most common rock is the mica-slate. On the highest elevations gneiss is the usual species. Quartz is often seen with both the mica and the gneiss. Granite is rarely met with. Other varieties are sometimes found.

The *Soil* seems to be very poor, except near the bottom of the valleys, and in the forests on the sides of the mountains. In the former it is enriched by the deposites brought down from the higher ground by the rains. The decay of vegetable matter accounts for the fertility of the ground where there are forests.

The farmers cultivate various kinds of grain; among which are wheat, maize, buckwheat, barley, and several kinds of native grain. Among the latter the *batu* makes a very beautiful appearance in the fields when almost ripe. It is a plume-like stalk, containing a great many seeds resembling timothy seed; which are ground into flour by the natives, the red covering or husks serving as food

for the cattle. Some rice is cultivated in the valleys. Potatoes have been introduced by the English, and grow very well. The poppy is cultivated in order to make opium; of which considerable quantities are manufactured. Some tobacco is grown, and occasionally patches of cotton may be seen. Large pumpkins, cucumbers, onions, peas, &c. are to be had; but the latter, with carrots, beans, and strawberries, are seldom cultivated by the natives.

6. *Animals &c.* Among the wild animals is a species of leopard. Jackals are common. Foxes are sometimes seen; monkeys more frequently. There are a few snakes, which are seldom seen, however, except during the rains. Lizards, toads, and frogs, seem to be much pleased with this climate, if a person may judge by their numbers. Among the birds, crows, hawks, and kites, are always seen in large numbers in the vicinity of towns and villages, though they are not so *very* numerous as in other parts of India. The golden eagle may be often observed proudly sailing over the valleys, and above the highest mountain summits. They sometimes measure ten feet from tip to tip of the wings. The cuckoo, swallow, sparrow, jay, and a variety of other small birds, are common during certain months of the year. None are at all remarkable for sweetness of note; though some of them have beautiful plumage. The housefly, and his enemy the spider, fleas, and some other not more agreeable insects, are too common for a person's comfort sometimes. The bee is quite common, and honey is good, plenty, and cheap.

The farmers commonly have one or two buffaloes; or, if not, small cows instead. The cow is quite a sacred animal. At one place, the natives

refused to milk them into our vessels; though it seems difficult to imagine how the holiness of cows could be contaminated by doing so. There are no horses, except such as belong to the *Ranas*, or chiefs. Ploughing is always done by bullocks or cows. Mules are sometimes used for the transportation of merchandise. Sheep and goats seem to thrive well. The former all have short horns, both male and female. Fowls might be kept with the greates tease, but for the Hindu prejudices of the natives.

7. *Climate.* The degree of heat or of cold depends chiefly on the elevation. In the narrow, precipitous valleys it is tolerably hot during the summer. At Simla, (seven thousand five hundred feet) the thermometer, in the house, rose to 80° and 82° last May; but fell to 64° and 66° during the rains. In the latter end of October there were hard frosts on the ground in the mornings. In the winter, there are frequent falls of snow at Simla, which, however, is soon melted.

The rains commence early in June, and continue until the middle or latter end of September. They are very heavy indeed; and are attended sometimes with lightning and thunder, especially about their commencement and termination. The worst feature of the rainy season is the dense fog or mist, which prevails very much for two months. These fogs I have not seen in the Plains. They are very dense. Indeed, they seem to be literally *clouds*, heavily charged with moisture, and often so dense that objects of the largest size cannot be at all seen at the distance of half a dozen yards. They often rise suddenly, and from no conceivable cause of a local nature; and continue sometimes for a few hours; at others, for days, and almost for

weeks. They do not usually settle lower down than six thousand feet. At high elevations they remain during all the rains. They are very oppressive to persons of weak lungs, or who are troubled with difficulty of breathing. The heat of the sun is very great throughout the year, not less than in the plains. I have been obliged, on a high peak, to use an umbrella to protect myself from the heat of the sun, when the air and the wind were so cold that it was necessary to wrap myself as comfortably as possible in a winter cloak.

With the exception of the sun's rays, and of the fogs for six weeks or two months on the higher Hills, this climate is considered very much better than that of the Plains for persons coming from colder latitudes. There is something refreshing and bracing in the pure mountain air. A person feels here some of the elasticity of mind which he enjoyed in his own country. He rises in the morning refreshed by his sleep, and not languid, feverish, and spiritless, as during the hot season at any rate in the Plains. I believe the climate of these hills is considered favourable to persons whose system has become enfeebled by the heat of the Plains; to those who are recovering from fevers; to persons subject to derangement of the functions of the liver, in cases not constitutional and inveterate. It is probably favourable to most kinds of disease in India. The higher elevations, however, where the fogs prevail, can hardly be salutary to persons subject to rheumatic affections, or labouring under pulmonary complaints.

There are three or four places in the Hills to which English invalids resort for their health, and where some medical men are commonly to be met with among the other residents, at least during the

hot months. Of these, *Simla* and *Mussooree* are the two chief places of resort; the latter station being in the Hills north of Meerut. At each of these stations perhaps from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons reside for several months during the summer. But few remain during the cold season. It is deemed strange by some, that the stations for invalid soldiers are not established somewhere in this region. The climate would certainly be more pleasant and salutary for them than that of the plains. There is at Mussooree a school for English children, where many branches belonging to a respectable education are taught, under the superintendence of a gentleman and his sister. It is well spoken of, and affords advantages not ordinarily met with in India, to the families who prefer a residence at that station, when they are obliged to go to the Hills. *Sabathu*, on the route to Simla, is the station where one of the Political Agents in these Hill States, and where also a medical officer permanently reside. It is only four thousand feet high, and is not much resorted to by invalids. Sabathu is one march, (fifteen miles) from the plains, and two marches from Simla.

8. The entire *population* in these regions under British protection, I have heard estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand persons. There are few towns of any size. Sabathu is one of the largest in the Hills, and yet, including the vicinity of eight or ten miles, it does not contain more than twelve thousand people. *Rampur*, on the Sutlej, contains about one thousand inhabitants. It is the place where the chief *mela*, or fair, in the Hills, is held. On that occasion, several days are devoted to buying and selling, to religious duties, &c. It

is commonly held in the month of October or November, and is resorted to by some thousands of natives from all parts of the Hill country.

Usually, the Hill people dwell in small villages and hamlets of from half a dozen houses to twenty or thirty. In a single valley, or rather on the sides of the two mountains which form the valley, numerous villages may be seen, generally subject to the same chief, and all accessible without much difficulty, after a person has succeeded in reaching one of them. I have counted between twenty-five and thirty villages at one view, thus situated on the sides of the neighbouring mountains; and I should think that a missionary might visit all on one of the sides in the course of a few days, spending several hours at each, to make known the Gospel, and pitching his tent at night at a few miles distance from his camp in the morning. The valley of Jubal is said to contain not less than fourteen thousand people, dwelling thus in villages, the greater part of which are visible at one view from some high peaks in the vicinity. All of these villages might probably be visited by a missionary in a fortnight or three weeks. If a person could speak the language with freedom, and possessed the patient devoted spirit of Neff, he could not desire a finer field for serving his Saviour in, and for doing good both to the bodies and souls of his fellow men.

The population of these States must be regarded as very great, when the character of their country is considered. Probably not more than one-third of the actual surface of these regions admits of being cultivated. The proportion may be larger on the lower Hills; but it is much smaller on the higher.

9. *Agriculture, &c.*—The Hill people are nearly all employed in cultivating the soil. As there is scarcely any level ground, they are compelled to form the surface of the Hills into irregular terraces. These are usually very small, and are shaped according to the circumstances of their situation. They are seldom more than a few rods broad, often only a few feet; and their length is very various. They are supported by low walls of stones, piled up without any mortar or cement. It is no uncommon thing among the lower Hills near the plains, to see terraces of this kind reaching from the bottom to the top. Often, on the higher Hills, these rude terraces extend as far up as the nature of the soil, or the coldness of the climate, admits of cultivation. Rice and other productions of warm climates, may be seen at the bottom, while some of the hardier kinds of grain are growing at the top. These little fields on the mountain sides look very beautiful in the spring months. When the green grain is springing up, it requires little aid from fancy to regard the mountains as cut into irregular flights of steps, and covered with nature's newest carpeting.

The implements of agriculture in common use are simple and rude; but the plough is better than the kind of plough used in the plains, and the harrow is not worse. The houses of these people are comfortable for Hindus. They are much more substantial than those of farmers in the plains, being usually built chiefly of small-sized stones, with timbers, six or eight inches square, placed along in the walls at distances of two or three feet apart. In the interior of the Hills, the houses are commonly two stories in height, the upper story having a porch, partly enclosed, along the entire

front side, from which a door opens into the apartments of the family. The lower story is merely a stable for their buffaloes or cows. The roof is composed of flat stones, sometimes of slates, and projects so far on the front side as to afford a cover to the veranda or porch. It is seldom that these houses have any windows. Chimneys seem to be unknown throughout India, in native houses, the fire being kindled and kept in little clay fire-places, and the smoke being allowed to make its escape as best it can. Some of the richer farmers among the Hill people have houses so large and well-built that they would be quite respectable even in America, having verandas on all sides, and being constructed of stones and timbers which have been carefully hewed and prepared. A good Pahari house for the ordinary class of inhabitants will cost about one hundred rupees. In the plains, the corresponding class of people live in houses of clay, which cost twenty or thirty rupees.

10. The *Temples*, or places of religious character, are of various orders of architecture. Most commonly, they are of one rather low story in height, constructed of the same materials as ordinary houses, but having their roofs modelled more like the Chinese roofs, or with a slightly curved inclination from the cone to the eve. Often these temples are made entirely of wood. Sometimes a part of the building is of open structure, showing at one view all the idols and their ornaments. In other instances, there is no opening of any kind, except one small door. Some of the temples are more lofty than these, and have a veranda on all sides, at about two-thirds of their height, which, as it is often enclosed, gives them a singular appearance. Some few consist of little more than a

platform of stone, and four posts, or rude pillars, which support the roof. Some have a kind of low circular tower, rising above one end.

Their *sites* are often worthy of attention. They are seen from a great distance, on the top of some peak, or at the extremity of some ridge, standing solitary. Others break suddenly on the view of a traveller, as he passes through some forest, standing in its most dense recesses, and surrounded and overshadowed by lofty trees. Near the villages, they stand generally alone, a space being reserved between them and the dwellings of the people. They all seem adapted to exert a cheerless influence on the minds of men, an influence quite in accordance with the spirit of the Hindu system. Yet it must be acknowledged that their situation and appearance are not destitute of impressiveness. The *idols* in these temples are rude sculptures of wood and stone, and are most commonly devoted to the goddess *Kali*, though the trident of Siva is sometimes seen over their most holy place. To the former, goats are frequently sacrificed. Formerly, it appears from uncontradicted testimony, human victims were offered at her bloody shrine. There is a mountain, very distinctly seen from Simla, called *Shali*, on whose summits in former days there was a famous temple to this goddess. It is commonly believed that human beings were killed for sacrifices at that temple; but no instance has occurred since 1809. Since these regions have come under English control, this practice, as well as that of infanticide, in a great degree, has been abolished. A person cannot but wonder that it should ever have existed among a people so mild, and apparently kind-hearted as these Paharis are. But the depraved heart of man, when unchanged

and unrestrained by Divine influence, is susceptible of entertaining and of perpetrating any evil, however heinous in itself, or however horrible in its consequences.

At some temples, *incense* is offered in a rude earthen censer. In ascending a mountain, one morning, with a Christian friend, we were much struck at seeing the ceremony performed. The person officiating was kneeling a short distance from the idol. In one hand he held a censer, with the incense burning, which he waved backwards and forwards, while with the other hand he was ringing a little bell. It was a melancholy sight to see that kind of worship thus paid to a piece of wood, which, in our associations, is hallowed with the solemn temple of the Jews in honour of the only living and true God. I never saw any instance of the kind before; and my companion said it was equally new to him, although he had been fourteen years in various parts of India.

It is very common, in the immediate vicinity of these hill temples, to see a great number of *rags* sticking on the bushes and low trees around. They are of every colour and texture, and are usually in the shape of narrow and rather long strips. They seem to have been torn off from the clothes commonly worn by the people, and are said to be intended as *pledges* by worshippers, that they will fulfil the vows which they make. This custom seems to be quite peculiar to these hills; at least I have not heard of any similar usage elsewhere.

11. The *Religion* of these people, as may be inferred from what has been said about their temples, is exclusively the Hindu. There are no Mussulmans, and scarcely any Sikhs among them.

They seem to be chiefly of one *caste* of Hindus; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that they do not pay much regard to the distinction of caste; so that a person does not see, as in the plains, half a dozen of fire-places, to cook the dinners of half a dozen of people. There are but few brahmans among them, nearly all the people belonging to the class whose distinct duty, according to Hindu notions, is to cultivate the soil.

12. The *Language* seems to be principally Hinduí. Of the very few that I met with who could read, all read the Hinduí in the Devnagarí character. An English gentleman, who is an excellent Hindustání scholar, informed me, that he could scarcely make himself understood by the Paharís, while a friend of his, who is well acquainted with the Hinduí, got along much better in his intercourse with them. Yet their mode of pronunciation is so very singular, that few Europeans can understand them. There are but very few books of any description among them; and perhaps not one person in every thousand is able to read and write. I never heard of any school of any sort among them, excepting one or two established and entirely supported by English people. Yet there are generally a few persons in each small state, who are able to read, and to keep the few records in writing that the administration of their affairs requires to be thus preserved. As to the alphabet used by those who are able to read, I ought perhaps to add, that I have been told that there are three or four different alphabets, which are made use of in different places.

13. *Character of the People*, &c. In the manners of the hill people there is a frank and independent bearing, which is much more pleasing

than the sycophancy and servility towards superiors so common throughout India. They seem to be very ingenuous, or rather unsophisticated, in their mental operations. They might be characterized as a simple-minded people, who are little encumbered with artificial distinctions of wealth and rank. Their chiefs have commonly but little power; their subjects, territories, and resources, being all, for the most part, very limited. Hence, there is among them the absence both of the polish of address, and of the specious but deceitful ingenuity of mind, which are found among the subjects of more powerful and wealthy native rulers. This absence of artificial usages may be partly owing, also, to the fact, that there are few persons among them of overgrown wealth. On the other hand, there are but few among these Paharis who are absolutely poor, or compelled to beg for their subsistence, the people being commonly in moderate, but comfortable circumstances. In their personal habits and dress they are offensively dirty. When an article of clothing is put on, it seems to be allowed to stay on until it wears off. The girls are betrothed at an early age, and their *hair*, it is said, is then plaited, and remains undressed (it is further added) ever afterwards.

As to morals, they have a much greater regard to truth and uprightness in dealing, than is shown by the people of the Plains. Much greater confidence can be reposed in their word, and in their honesty. But they are spoken of as much addicted to licentiousness; yet the female sex does not appear to be so degraded as in the Plains. At any rate, they are not so much secluded, which is some proof of their being held in higher estimation and of their enjoying greater confidence. In one or

two sections of the Hills, it is said that polyandry is common. A Christian friend informed me, that he had seen one family, where there were only two women. One was the aged mother, the other was the wife of ten men!

In their disposition or temper there seems to be a great deal of kindness of feeling, prompting them to take an interest in the sufferings of others, and to render assistance to others when it is not *too* inconvenient to do so—a remark which admits but a very limited application to Hindus generally. These Hill people seem to be patient, contented, easily satisfied, and greatly attached, (as all mountain tribes are,) to their own country. Considering their character and circumstances, I am quite disposed to adopt the opinion that there is a greater probability of their conversion to Christianity, if suitable means were employed, than there is in regard to any other people in India, so far as my information extends. A missionary, who would go among them in a kind and quiet manner, endeavour to promote their temporal comfort, as well as their spiritual welfare, and exemplify before them the peaceful and pure spirit of the gospel, might hope, if favoured with the Divine blessing, to secure their warm affection for himself personally, and to see many of them embracing the gospel of the grace of God.

There are no difficulties or obstacles to hinder immediate Christian effort for the conversion of this people, excepting such difficulties as will continue to exist, so far as the people are concerned, until the gospel itself removes them by its holy influence. Under the existing authorities of the country, and among so peaceful a people, every judicious and prudent missionary would enjoy pro-

tection and peace; while the climate and its inconveniences will ever remain, of course, in a great degree unchanged. It was remarked previously, however, that the climate and the country are undoubtedly more favourable to the health of Europeans and Americans than the greater part of India and of south-eastern Asia.

The first establishment of a mission family might be made at *Sabathu*, which is convenient to the Plains, has the advantage of a resident medical officer, of post office communications, &c. At that place a comfortable house could be either purchased or rented, at a low rate. It would admit of convenient intercourse with the mission station at Lodiana, and from this latter place the books and tracts, which will be requisite in the prosecution of missionary labours, might be easily obtained, and it would afford a comfortable retreat for any of the missionaries from the Plains, when health might become impaired. The distance between Lodiana and Sabathu is about one hundred miles.

In regard to the mountainous and isolated valley of Kanaur, referred to in the first paragraph of the foregoing notes, the following memoranda will be considered valuable by the reader; they were taken from a work, then printed but not published, which has been lately reprinted and published in London. Captain Gerard, from whose book these notices were taken by permission, had made several tours to the valley, and had spent sometime in it.

Kunaur, (Koonawur,) a part of the Protected Hill States, lies on both sides of the Sutlej river, from Lat. 31° 15′ to 32° 4′, and from Long. 77° 50′ to 78° 50′. It runs from N. E. to S. W. the

habitable part seldom exceeding eight miles in breadth. It is secluded, rugged, mountainous, and almost entirely surrounded by mountains covered with snow. On the East it is separated from Chinese Tartary by a lofty ridge, through which are several passes at high elevations.

Population.—There are seven large divisions, subdivided into twenty smaller, containing altogether rather less than ten thousand inhabitants. *Rampur*, the chief town of *Basehar*, the state or chiefdom of which Kunaur forms a part, contains one hundred and ten families. In Kunaur, *Marang* contains eighty-seven families, and *Ridang*, seventy-five. These are among the most populous places in Basehar. The villages are situated from seven to twelve thousand feet above the sea.

Climate.—This depends upon the elevation, and the location, of the particular place. Rampur is so hot, during a good part of the year, as to be almost uninhabitable by Europeans. Other places are so cold, as to be unhabitable by any human beings. Between these extremes there is a great variety of temperature.

Valleys.—The valleys of the Sutlej, of the *Baspa*, of the *Pabar*, and of one or two other small streams, are the only parts which admit of much cultivation. Arable spaces occasionally are met, varying from one hundred yards to half a mile in width.

Rivers.—The Sutlej is more like a torrent than a large river, descending sometimes one hundred or one hundred and fifty feet per mile. The water looks turbid, from the particles of sand, or of the rocks, worn off by attrition, which are held suspended in the stream. It runs two hundred and eighty miles in the snowy mountains, one hun-

dred more in the hills, or lower range of mountains, and one hundred and thirty more in the plains, to its junction with the Bías. It breadth varies greatly; its depth in the hills can seldom be ascertained, owing to the rapidity of the current, which is often fearfully great.

The Sutlej receives several mountain-streams as tributaries, of which the chief is the *Spití*, which is nearly one hundred miles in length. The others vary in length from ten to forty-five miles. They are all much swollen by the rains, and by the melting of the snow. These rivers and streams are passed by *sangos*, or wooden bridges, by *jhulas*, or rope bridges, and by *sagams*, or twig bridges. The second is made of several cables stretched from bank to bank, from which a noose is suspended, in which the passenger places himself, and he is then drawn over by cords attached to the noose. The third kind of bridge is formed of twigs twisted, ropes, &c.

Passes.—There are various passes, over which travellers cross the mountains. Of these, six lead to Chinese Tartary, and several into Thibet.

Productions, &c. — Barley, buckwheat, and wheat, are common. The potato has been introduced, and grows well. Among the trees are six kinds of pine, oak, birch, maple. Wild fruits are abundant, as black and red currants, gooseberries, strawberries, neoza,* pears, apricots, &c. Many varieties of grapes flourish very well in good situations. Eighteen kinds are mentioned, which seem almost incredibly large. They sell at sixty or seventy pounds to the rupee. Apples are but

* The neoza is a small, rather long, partly conical, fruit, tasting not unlike the filbert or hazel-nut, and produced by a species of the pine.

indifferent—could they not be grafted? Peaches do not ripen well.

The Animals are cows, sheep, goats, asses, small horses, dogs, &c. There are some wild bears, and some species of tiger-cat, or panther. Among the birds are pheasants, hawks, eagles, crows, pigeons, &c. Fish are not abundant. There are some snakes, frogs, flies, fleas, &c. The common bee is every where met with, and there is plenty of fine honey, particularly in the autumn.

The people are dark-complexioned, and muscular. Their stature is from five feet four inches to five feet nine. They are frank, active, hospitable, and highly honourable, reverencing the truth, &c.

Their Religion is Hinduism, but with less regard for the subdivisions of caste than the people of the plains feel. They erect temples to the Devtas, or gods, in their villages, and piles of stones on the summits of the hills. *Kali* is chiefly worshiped. Human sacrifices were offered before the British became rulers; and female infanticide was common. Their *language* is a dialect of the Hinduí. Few persons can read or write. The dialect called *Milchan* is said to be the most common.

Diseases are few, as the climate is salubrious and bracing. As there are no periodical rains in Kunaur, there are few vapours, &c. The swelled throat, or goitre, is frequently met with; but it is not supposed to be owing to their drinking snow-water; because many who drink nothing else for months are not troubled with it.

CHAPTER XIV.

LODIANA TO NEW YORK.

Meeting with Messrs. Wilson and Newton—English school at Lodiana—Mission station at Sabathu—Other fields of labour—Station at Lodiana—Leave Lodiana—Meeting at Calcuta with the third company of Missionaries—Reach New York.

Leaving Simla about the 17th of November, I proceeded to join my missionary friends, the Wilsons and Newtons, now on the land-part of their journey to Lodiana, and on the 23d of that month we had the high gratification of meeting at a small native village about thirty miles north-west of Delhí. Years had passed since we were students together at the Allegheny Seminary, and in this period changes of the deepest interest had taken place; the broad ocean had been crossed, the hand of death had taken away more than one whom we all loved, and who had expected to be present at this meeting, and we were now truly strangers in a strange country. How thankful and joyful that we were again together! With the warmest gratitude did we at once unite in offering fervent praise to God, "for all the way by which he had led us along." Our meeting was a time of the most tender and refreshing communion, such as language can but feebly describe.

After reaching Lodiana, we had the satisfaction of spending about six weeks together. During this time the history of our mission in all its details was brought under review, and its prospects carefully examined. Various plans of usefulness

were considered, and our united and fervent prayers were often made that the blessing of the great Head of the Church might crown our feeble undertakings. On a review of all our affairs, we could not but "thank God, and take courage."—I may here insert some extracts from a letter, written a month or two afterwards, but referring to the state of things in January, 1836.

The English School. It was at first established under the auspices and generous support of Captain *C. M. Wade*, the political agent at Lodiana; and, for some months before I reached that place in November 1834, it was taught by *Shahamat Ali*, a native young man, of considerable promise, who had acquired some knowledge of our language at the governmental college, or school, at Delhi.

One of the first subjects that required our consideration after we arrived at Lodiana was that of our connection with this school. Captain Wade was its founder, and it has always been chiefly owing to his deep interest in its success, and to his generous patronage, that it has thus far prospered so well. He wished, however, to sustain towards it a somewhat different, though not less friendly relationship. And between making another arrangement, and making it over entirely to us, we, of course, could not feel as indifferent spectators; especially as the other arrangement would have involved the giving up of all religious books and instructions in the school, and, consequently, of our connection with it. After free and repeated conversations with Captain Wade on the subject, marked on his part by a most kind and considerate, as well as liberal disposition, it seemed best that the school should be altogether made over to our

mission. Capt. W. will, however, continue to manifest an entirely cordial interest in its welfare, and is still the patron of the school. It now contains about forty-five boys and young men. This number is as large as could be expected, when it is considered that but few, if any, of the natives of this country are yet influenced by a desire of knowledge from disinterested motives; and that the number of situations is but limited in which a knowledge of our language would be advantageous in a pecuniary point of view. Indeed, it may be said of most places remote from Calcutta, that the most weighty motive to a native's mind for seeking a knowledge of our language is the hope of pleasing his European superiors, and of deriving some sort of advantage from their favour. This is a good deal the case at Lodiana; though I am glad to think that some of the boys are influenced by higher and better motives. But, whatever may be the character of the motives which influence any of the natives in their efforts to become acquainted with our language, it matters little to us, as to our duty. To us it is simply a question between endeavouring to avail ourselves of their wish to know our language by consenting to teach them, and watching opportunities to make them acquainted with useful and Christian knowledge, and neglecting to do so. If we choose the latter plan, we lose many and precious opportunities, direct and indirect, of exerting useful influences, of communicating important knowledge, of correcting evil habits, of witnessing a Christian example; and we permit a most interesting class of the community to acquire that knowledge of our language which will make them by far the most influential in their generation, without any, or with but imperfect acquaint-

ance with the truths of our religion. The desire to know our language is awakened in their minds; it will be gratified; those who learn our books will be looked up to by all the people; they will occupy many places of important influence among their countrymen; but whether they will exert an influence favourable to Christianity, or not, is a different and most important matter. Mere general knowledge will never make them sincere Christians; though it may, and most probably will make them infidels from the religious systems of their fathers. We have yet to learn whether infidelity in India is any better than infidelity in America or Europe.*

Another subject, that has received a good many of our thoughts, is the distribution of our number; having a reference as well to those who are to come as to those now here. *Lodiana* seems to need the services of two missionaries, one printer, and one schoolmaster. *Ambala*, about seventy miles on this side, is as large a town, or perhaps larger; but, at present, it does not appear to be

* This English school has not ceased to be an object of prominent interest. It is now under the superintendence of the Rev. W. S. Rogers. A new and more eligible building has been erected for its use; the number of pupils continues about the same. Though subject to considerable, changes, partly from the parents' early withdrawing their sons to occupy stations of business, thereby greatly hindering the highest usefulness of the school; yet it cannot be doubted that a good influence has been already exerted through its ageney. And I would ask the reader's attention to its importance, from its position in reference to surrounding countries, and from the different languages spoken by its pupils, as a means, if the blessing of God be granted, of diffusing far and near the knowledge of the way of life.

advisable to attempt forming a branch of our mission there. *Ferozpur*, about seventy miles down the Sutlej from Lodiana, is a place of ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, and of great prospective importance. Yet it is not quite prepared, probably, for becoming the station of a mission family. *Sabathu*, one hundred miles from Lodiana, in the Protected Hill States, is a very good place at which to have one missionary and one schoolmaster stationed. These are the places now under direct British control. There are many large towns belonging to native Chiefs, on both sides of the Sutlej, within one hundred miles, and many within fifty miles of Lodiana. Within the latter distance is *Patiala*, said to contain sixty or seventy thousand inhabitants, southward from Lodiana; *Sirhind*, containing probably fifteen thousand, eastward, or south-eastward, from Lodiana, on the road to Ambala: *Jhalandar*, forty thousand, thirty miles; and *Paghwarah*, fifteen thousand, twenty miles. Both of these are on the other side of the Sutlej, on the road to Amritsir and Lahor. Besides these large towns, there are a good many of some thousand people, and a great many of some hundred inhabitants. But in regard to towns which are entirely under native rule, it may be regarded in general as scarcely advisable for a mission family to settle at them before a knowledge of the language is attained; and perhaps even then it will be better to occupy first those large towns and important places which are under British rule exclusively. There will be less probability of meeting with any interruption in one's labours. It is quite practicable to visit towns under native rule; and perhaps circumstances might occur which would make it appear advisable to reside at them. This would

be the case, were any of their rulers to become Christians. But, at present, it might be attended with uncertainty as to being free from trouble, or rather, as to obtaining the consent of the Chiefs. At any rate, it would be attended with much delay in regard to getting suitable houses prepared, so that it does not seem expedient that any of our brethren should attempt at once to take up a permanent residence at a native town.

Besides, great changes may be anticipated, and perhaps troublous times, on the other side of the Sutlej; for the health of the chief ruler, Ranjit Singh, is in a very precarious condition. Though he may live for years, yet he might die any night. It seems hardly proper to think of forming any station on that side of the Sutlej until there is a better prospect of quietness and of a settled government.

We came very satisfactorily to the conclusion that we should commence a mission in the Hill States as soon as practicable. We have felt ourselves justifiable in making preparation for a mission family to reside there, and have purchased a stone house at *Sabathu* for that purpose. This we thought it would be expedient to do, because it was offered at a low price, and because the opportunity might be lost, if neglected. . . . .

You will perceive that Lodiana and Sabathu do not afford sufficient work to employ all our brethren permanently. Shall they all go to those places until they learn the language, and then go wherever the Lord directs? Or would it be advisable for some of them to stay at Farrukhabad, or at some other place in the Doab, or level country, between the Ganges and the Jumna? The latter is a region of country teeming with large towns and multitudes

of people, for whose souls no man seems to care. It affords a greater prospect of concentrated exertions than do the regions to the northwest. It is entirely under British rule. It is easy of access by water from Calcutta, and would afford a "half-way house" to the missionary brethren going on to the northwest. We want some missionary families in Calcutta, where our missionaries would land at first; who would find as much work to do as they could accomplish; who would meet with a most cordial reception from all the Calcutta brethren; and who could relieve these brethren from commissions and cares which even now must be troublesome, though they are too kind to admit that they are so, but which, in future times, will be too numerous for them to think of attending to, when we have some fifty or a hundred missionaries in the upper regions of India. And then we want many American missionaries throughout Upper India; of whom some could be stationed at Furrukhabad, to receive and forward over land the brethren, and their commissions, to the remoter stations. There is a large unoccupied field in the Doab. Would it be desirable for two of our brethren to stay somewhere in it? If it is not so for them, I trust you will soon be able to send others to take possession of that fertile and populous country.

If they should go on to Lodiana, they might, or future missionaries might, prepare themselves for going either to Cashmere, or to Afghanistan, by learning the language of those countries, from the natives, of whom there are many at Lodiana.

During the spring of 1834, through the kind attention of Capt. Wade, a portion of ground was allotted to our mission, which is in many respects

very eligible, being about a quarter of a mile east of the city, and containing a tract of rather low ground, suitable for a garden; as well as some high ground, suitable, and sufficiently large, for two or three houses. You would have thought the higher point of it a dreary, barren spot, if you could have seen it three or four months ago. It was just like the sandy-looking plains east and south of it. Yet it has always been cultivated; and we may hope that it will hereafter possess a peculiar interest, as the seat of extensive moral influence, and as the home of two or three families of the Lord's beloved people. It is intended that Lodiana shall become a walled town, and measures are in progress which seem to promise that the native city shall extend eastward quite to our ground. According to the plan of the city, a single street separates our little tract from the wall of the great city "that is to be."

The time had now come when I should direct my way homewards. After obtaining the best medical advice, and after much and anxious consideration, and many free conferences with my missionary companions, it was agreed by us all that a return to the United States was decidedly advisable, as the only means of recovering from the combined influence of the climate and of chronic disease. Deeply as I regretted to leave a post of so much importance, and a mission whose brief history had been so fraught with deeply painful, but also with most encouraging interest, and sorrowful as we all were at the necessity of parting, the path of duty appeared plain, and we acquiesced in what we believed to be the will of God. For myself, I consented the more readily to the measure, as I hoped to be so much benefitted by the voyage, and by spending a year or two in

a colder climate, as to return to the sphere of duty I was now about to leave—a hope I have since been constrained to abandon.

Arrangements were soon made for a journey to Calcutta by dák, and on the 21st of January, I bade farewell to many kind English friends at Lodiana, to the scholars of the High School, and to my missionary brethren—we commended each other to God, and to the word of his grace, and then parted, they to pursue their missionary labours, and I to make another long and solitary journey. I reached Calcutta on the 11th of February, after four or five days' delay on the road.

I was anxious to proceed on the voyage without delay, as the hot season was now drawing nigh, but I met with unexpected and trying disappointments about getting a passage directly to the United States, and was at length obliged to decide on returning by way of England. This delay, however, proved the means of my having a glad meeting with the third company of missionaries, who arrived on the 2d of April, in the Charles Wharton, from Philadelphia, after a safe and pleasant voyage. This party consisted of the Rev. Messrs. J. R. Campbell, and J. McEwen, and Messrs. J. M. Jamieson, W. S. Rogers, and J. Porter, with their wives. The three last mentioned gentlemen had completed their studies at college, and they have since been ordained as ministers of the gospel. We all regarded it as a favourable ordering of providence, that I should have been delayed until they arrived. I was able to be of use to them in making their arrangements for proceeding up the country; and it was highly gratifying to see so many chosen men and women thus far on their way to a scene of labour, where, two years before,

every thing appeared so discouraging. I left India with a lighter heart, after spending a few days with these missionary friends.

Of the voyage to England, and thence to New York, I need not give an extended account. Both were unusually long and severe, but we were favoured with all necessary comfort. After stopping a week at the Cape of Good Hope, our ship arrived at London about the end of September, and embarking at Portsmouth early in November, I had the great satisfaction, on the 28th of December, of stepping on the shore of my native country, the more beloved as I had seen the more of foreign lands.

CHAPTER XV.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE MISSIONS.

Lodiana—Sabathu—Saharunpur—Allahabad—Futtehgurh—Presbyteries formed—Summary View.

HERE my account might end; and yet, as I venture to hope that the reader will desire to learn the further progress of the mission, I shall add some notices of the station at Lodiana, and the stations that have been subsequently occupied. These are Sabathu, Saharunpur, Futtehgurh, and Allahabad.

At Lodiana, the Rev. Messrs. Wilson and Newton took charge of the English school, two or three common schools, a weekly service in English, and a printing press. The latter had been procured at Calcutta, in part with the help of some

liberal donations from our kind friends at Simla. After Messrs. W. and N. had made further progress in learning the native language, they made several tours into the adjacent country, to preach to the natives, and distribute the Scriptures, and other religious books, amongst those of them who could read. This kind of service is performed by the missionaries of all the stations to a greater or less extent, and is the means of conveying the knowledge of the gospel to thousands who would not otherwise receive it. Two dwelling-houses, a school-house, and a printing-office were erected.

On the arrival of Messrs. Rogers and Porter, of the third company of missionaries, it was thought advisable that one of the newly arrived should be associated with one of those who had now acquired some experience in that part of India, and accordingly, Mr. Porter took up his abode at Lodiana, with Mr. Newton; Mr. Wilson proceeding with Mr. Rogers to one of the new stations. Soon afterwards, a boarding-school was opened for orphan children, but the number of scholars never exceeded above a dozen, and in 1840 they were transferred to a similar school at Saharunpur. In the beginning of 1838, Mr. Rogers came down from Sabathu to this station, and took charge of the High School, which has continued under his efficient superintendence; and Mr. R. Morris, a printer, having arrived about the end of the year, with another press, this department of labour could now be superintended to much better advantage. Two additional dwelling-houses were built in 1839, and the printing-office was much enlarged. In the next year a neat Church was erected for native services, the first Presbyterian, and the first Mission Church erected in that part of India. The

missionaries had organized themselves into a Church in 1837, and they have since had the great satisfaction of admitting several hopeful native converts as members of the visible Church of Christ.

One of the letters already quoted mentions the selection of Sabathu, in the Protected Hill States, as a second station. The Rev. J. Wilson, and the Rev. W. S. Rogers, were the first missionaries, having gone there in the beginning of 1837. Afterwards it was considered expedient that Mr. Wilson should go down to Allahabad, and that Mr. Rogers should reside at Lodiana, and they were succeeded by the Rev. J. M. Jamieson, the missionary now at this station, his wife's health having suffered so severely on the plains as to make it necessary to remove to the hills. The Rev. J. H. Morrison is at present at Sabathu on account of his health, and it is not improbable that he will make the Hill States the place of his future labours.

Schools both for boys and girls, have been opened at Sabathu, but the attendance has varied, owing to the changes among the native soldiers, who, with their families, form a large part of the population of this town; the general prospects of these schools have not been very encouraging. The missionaries have made frequent tours among the Hill tribes, and have gone down, during the cold season, to the plains, for the purpose of making the gospel more widely known among the people. Mr. Jamieson has given much attention of late to the language of the Thibetan people, a number of whom find their way across the snowy mountains. The readers of the Missionary Chronicle will have observed in that periodical, frequent notices of these Hill tribes, and of the proceedings of the missionaries among them.

Saharunpur was made a mission station at the same time with Sabathu. It had been brought to our notice by a gentleman of the Civil Service, then stationed at Saharunpur, who gave every kind and efficient aid to our missionaries, in their settlement and labours at that place. A dwelling-house, large enough for two families, was purchased in 1836, of which, early in the following year, the Rev. Messrs. J. R. Campbell and J. M. Jamieson took possession. On Mr. Jamieson's removal to the Hills, Mr. Campbell was left alone until joined in 1839 by the Rev. J. Caldwell, who had arrived, with his wife, in the ship Osage, from Philadelphia, after a comfortable passage, and Mr. J. Craig, a teacher, and his wife. Besides studying the language, and making daily efforts to proclaim the gospel among the natives, an English school and a boarding-school were opened. The latter has proved a very interesting and useful institution, containing about twenty scholars, all of whom are orphans rescued from starvation. A church has been organized, containing, in 1841, twelve members.

Much sickness was suffered by nearly all the missionaries at this station, before it was discovered that it was probably owing to low, marshy ground in the vicinity, which was not sooner perceived because concealed from view by a dense undergrowth of vegetation. Mrs. Campbell was brought very low by fever, and Mr. and Mrs. Craig also, while it pleased God to take unto himself Mrs. Caldwell, who died on the 8th of November, 1839. She had formerly lived at Pittsburgh, Pa., and afterwards at Wheeling, Va., and was regarded with warm affection, and with the highest confidence, by those who knew her worth. Few

women have engaged in the service of Christ, among the heathen, who appeared better fitted for usefulness. Her early removal was not only an overwhelming loss to her husband, but a most serious calamity to the mission. How often are we reminded that the Lord's ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts!

In 1840 the missionaries removed to the opposite side of the city, where two dwelling-houses have been built, and a school-house, and where they enjoy much better health. During this change, the English school, which contained about forty boys, was suspended, but it has since been re-opened on the new premises. The present labours of the missionaries are abundant, and their prospects highly favourable.

This station is one hundred and thirty miles south-east from Lodiana, towards Calcutta, and contains perhaps forty thousand inhabitants. It is surrounded by a populous country, and is within thirty or forty miles of Hardwar, where the Ganges issues from the mountains, a place of great resort by pilgrims, so that the missionaries have the opportunity of preaching the gospel to great multitudes of people. Some of their number commonly visit Hardwar for this purpose during the annual fair, when myriads of people come from all parts of India, partly to bathe in the Ganges, and partly for purposes of traffic. The number of these pilgrims and visiters is seldom less than two hundred thousand, and every fourteenth year the multitudes are greatly increased.

Allahabad, at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, was first occupied in 1836, by the Rev. J. McEwen, who was led by providential circumstances, after having proceeded as far as Cawn-

pore, to return to this station, thereby complying with the earnest request of some Christian friends. He immediately undertook several English services, and a school of about forty scholars, of whom several were boarders, was collected under the care of his excellent companion, Mrs. McEwen. These labours were continued with much encouragement until Mr. McEwen's health failed entirely, and a removal to another climate seemed to offer the only hope of saving his life. In the meantime a church was organized of persons speaking the English language, and the general prospects of the station were so favourable that it was only from a conviction of its necessity that Mr. McEwen consented to leave in 1838.

Arrangements had been made for the Rev. J. W. Wilson to take charge of the station, and he removed to Allahabad in the beginning of this year. Some occurrences of a painful nature shortly afterwards took place in the conduct of one or two of the assistants, which led to the breaking up of the school; but afterwards it was resumed with better prospects. Mr. Wilson devoted much of his time to preaching the gospel among the natives, for which purpose Allahabad affords opportunities to a very wide extent, as in the estimation of the Hindus it is only less sacred than Hardwar or Benares, and great multitudes of pilgrims resort thither every cold season for purposes of religious ablution and other observances.

At the end of May in this year Mr. Wilson was joined by the Rev. J. H. Morrison, of the fourth company of missionaries, consisting of himself and the Rev. H. R. Wilson, Jr., Mr. R. Morris, Jr., a printer, designated to Lodiana, and Mr. J. Craig, a teacher, appointed to Saharunpur, with their

wives, who had arrived at Calcutta on the 7th of April, in the ship Charles Wharton, from Philadelphia, after a safe voyage. Before they could leave Calcutta, they were called to mourn over the sudden death of Mrs. Morrison, of the cholera. She was taken to her rest on the 28th of April. She was a daughter of Dr. E. D. Ward, of Bloomfield, New Jersey, and a woman of great excellence of character and devotedness to her work. None could be more deeply lamented by those who had the pleasure of knowing her worth. Her remains now rest in the Scotch burial groud, beside those of her missionary sister, who in 1833, was called first home from her Lord's work in India.

Mr. Morrison afterwards proceeded in advance of his companions to Allahabad, where he relieved Mr. Wilson of the English services, giving his attention also to labours among the natives.

The Rev. Messrs. J. E. Freeman, and J. Warren and their wives, and the Rev. J. L. Scott and wife, appointed to Futtehgurh, composing the fifth company of missionaries, reached Calcutta about the 1st of March, 1839, in the ship George Gardner, from Boston, after a good voyage; and the two first named of these gentlemen joined the Allahabad mission in the same year. They had brought with them a printing press, which is placed under Mr. Warren's care, as he had formerly been a practical printer. Another printing press was sent to this station during the last year, and the establishment is considered an effective and very important means of doing good. A school for orphan children was formed, and now contains about fifty pupils. A native church was organized in 1841, under circumstances of much interest, and several

natives have been admitted to church-fellowship. A church has been erected for native services, through the liberality of R. Montgomery, Esq. of the Civil Service, and other English gentlemen; and a valuable property has been purchased on favourable terms on the banks of the Jumna, where most of the mission families now reside, and have their printing establishment and schools.

The Rev. J. Owen, of the sixth company of missionaries, reached Calcutta on the 25th of December, 1840, in the Eugene, from Boston, after a favourable voyage. The Rev. Messrs. J. C. Rankin, and W. A. McAuley, with their wives, and Miss Vanderveer, who arrived in the same vessel, proceeded to Futtehgurh, while Mr. Owen, agreeably to a previous arrangement, remained at Allahabad, where he arrived in the early part of last year.

On the 13th of September of last year, the Rev. Messrs. L. Janvier and J. Wray, and their wives, being the seventh company of Missionaries to the Upper India stations, embarked at Philadelphia for Calcutta in the ship Washington, the former designated to Lodiana, and the latter to Allahabad. Allahabad is situated at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna rivers, about five hundred miles north-west of Calcutta; it contains a large native population, and is probably the most important station in Upper India, as the seat of various courts, and the place of residence of many important officers of the Civil Service. Its celebrity in the estimation of the natives for its holiness has been already adverted to.

Futtehgurh, on the Ganges, about seven hundred and fifty miles north-west from Calcutta, was recommended in connection with the large city of

Furrukhabad as an eligible place for missionary labour, by the Rev. Messrs. Wilson and Newton on their journey to Lodiana in 1835. Mr. Wilson then wrote as follows—

"While in the neighbourhood of Furrukhabad, I wish to make a few suggestions to the Executive Committee respecting this place as a promising field for a missionary. It seems to have been overlooked by those who have had the distribution of missionary labour in this part of India. It is an ancient and very populous city. No certain data are available as to the present population. The Baboo, a native gentleman, who called on us last evening, supposes the population about one hundred thousand. It is entirely a native population, free from the hinderances which the presence of Europeans sometimes throws around those who labour for the religious instruction of the natives. Judging from the manufactures exhibited in the shops, and the lively business-tone that pervaded the whole, I take it to be a place of considerable native trade. The people appear to be cheerful, active, and interesting in a high degree. . . . . Who can estimate the good which might be accomplished by the missionary who could take his station every day in these thronged streets, to preach and distribute the glad tidings of the kingdom! Furrukhabad lies about six miles back from Futtehgurh, which is a small military station at the head of navigation for large boats on the Ganges. It is the point at which a great part of the goods, and also the travellers to the upper provinces leave the river. It would, therefore, be a very convenient intermediate station and medium of transmission from Lodiana to Calcutta, or any of the stations down the river. If the Society

should find its resources sufficient at any nearly approaching period, it appears to brother N. and myself that it might be a very eligible station for a branch of a mission. The nearest efficient missionary station is *Chunar*, nearly three hundred miles below, and *Delhí*, half that distance above. Here is indeed a wide field."

It was not, however, until the latter part of 1838, that Futtehgurh became a mission station. The interesting circumstances under which the Rev. H. R. Wilson, Jr. was led to commence missionary efforts at this place are set forth clearly in the following extract from his letter to the Board, of November 19, 1838.

"This subject was discussed by us at Allahabad, and it was there decided unanimously, that Capt. W. should be written to for information, and [in case of certain circumstances occurring] that one of our party, and that one myself, should stop there, and commence a mission, at least until the next reinforcement should arrive.

During our stay at Cawnpore, Dr. Madden, of the civil service, a devotedly pious man, who had a large and flourishing school for orphans at Futtehpore, almost fifty miles below Cawnpore, arrived with his wife in the last stage of disease. On account of her ill health, he had made arrangements for dismissing his school, and for leaving the place permanently. He offered me his whole property, which he had fitted up at a great expense for the convenience of the school, and which he estimated at seven thousand rupees, together with the school-books, apparatus, &c., if I would go and settle at Futtehpore as a missionary. . . . .

While we were casting in our minds what we ought to do, I received a very friendly letter from

Capt. W., offering every encouragement to my coming here. I submitted this matter not only to the brethren here, but also to those at Allahabad, Saharunpur, Lodiana, and Sabathu. Whilst the brethren above expressed a desire that I should go on to Lodiana, still they heartily assented to my stopping here, if such seemed to us to be duty. The brethren Craig, Caldwell, and Morris, were even more decided than I was with regard to the path of duty. As Capt. W. had sent all the orphans under his care to the missionaries at Benares, and as those under Dr. Madden's care had in some measure been weaned from their heathenish practices, and had received some religious instruction, it was concluded that I should take half of them, twenty-five boys and twenty-five girls, to Futtehgurh, for the formation of an orphan asylum and the nucleus of a Christian colony there.

The mission thus auspiciously commenced has continued to enjoy manifest proofs of the Divine favour, of which not the least was the obtaining a well educated and pious native, Gopínáth Nundí, as an assistant missionary. The number of orphan children has been enlarged to upwards of one hundred, all of whom are receiving a Christian education. Many of them are learning the carpet-making business, and it is proposed to settle them in a village by themselves under Christian regulations. The Government in 1840 generously placed a valuable tract of land at the disposal of the missionaries for this purpose.

In 1839, the Rev. J. L. Scott and wife, reached this station, and a school was opened in Furrukhabad for teaching Persian and English, which is now attended by about seventy pupils. In 1841, the Rev. Messrs. J. C. Rankin, W. H. McAuley,

and their wives, and Miss Vanderveer, reached Futtehgurh. A church was shortly to be organized by the last accounts received.

These stations are classed in three Missions, called after the names of prominent cities, the Lodiana Mission, embracing Lodiana, Saharunpur, and Sabathu; the Furrukhabad Mission, having as yet but the station of Futtehgurh; and the Allahabad Mission, with but one station yet formed, that of Allahabad. Each of these Missions is distinct from the others, and they report directly to the Board, whose seat of operations is in New York.

The missionaries at Lodiana were formed into a Presbytery in 1836, which was recognized by the General Assembly in 1841, and is called the Presbytery of Lodiana, embracing the ministers at Lodiana and Sabathu. The same General Assembly constituted the ministers connected with the Furrukhabad and Allahabad Missions into Presbyteries, known by those names respectively; and these three Presbyteries are connected together as the Synod of North India. The Presbytery of Lodiana, at their first meeting, received two natives under their care as candidates for the holy ministry, and the Presbytery of Furrukhabad have also taken under their care a native convert of much promise for the same sacred office. The missionaries at Saharunpur are of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and have also been organized into a Presbytery by the Synod of their Church.

To present at one view a summary of these missions, the following statistics are given.

There are now three missions, five stations, seventeen ordained ministers of the gospel, one printer, one teacher, nearly all of whom are married men; several valuable native assistants; three

schools, containing nearly two hundred orphan children, who are supported and brought up by the missionaries as if they were the children of Christian parents; three English schools, with about one hundred and fifty scholars, and several common or day schools; two printing establishments, with book-binderies; and four churches, whose members comprise the families of the missionaries, and a number of native converts, besides the orphan children, who have all received the ordinance of baptism.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The northwestern provinces not occupied with Missionary institutions—Urgent wants of adult Heathens—Encouragement of Christian effort—India open for Missionary labours—An interior movement now in progress—The Hindus in a transition state; shall they become Christians or Infidels?—Religious movements *en masse*—The kind of men required as Missionaries.

It certainly deserves our devout thanksgiving, that so large a mission establishment is now planted and exerting an effective influence where, a few years ago, there was but a solitary pioneer, or rather where but a year or two before, the wants and even the names of those provinces, and their millions of people, were little known to our churches. A beginning has been made, a number of faithful labourers are engaged in their Lord's work, schools have been formed, the Sacred Scrip-

tures printed and circulated widely, churches and Presbyteries constituted, and the work of converting grace displayed, and still in progress; this is surely the Lord's work, and it is marvellous in our eyes. We cannot but regard the past history of those missions as presenting a strong inducement to enlarged efforts, and as holding out good encouragement of final success.

That success should be devoutly prayed for in these endeavours, no one can doubt, who considers how lamentable is the condition of men not enjoying the light of Revelation, and how far above all price are the benefits conferred on those who sincerely embrace the gospel of Jesus Christ. Every motive that induces Christians to set a high estimate on their religion, should persuade them to use all proper means to extend its blessings to those who are destitute of them. Nor is this duty left to their choice. Its performance is made binding by the command of Christ. The generous promptings, however, of their benign faith, not less than the beautiful example of their blessed Lord, should constrain them to offer a free and ready service on behalf of those who are represented in Sacred Scripture, with touching simplicity, as "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death."

The entire north-western part of India, above a line drawn between Benares and Allahabad, may be regarded as specially open to our missionaries. There are many important places below that line where they might be well employed, indeed where the services of missionaries are most urgently required; and they would be made welcome by the missionaries of other branches of the Church of Christ, now employed in the lower provinces, their

numbers and resources being altogether inadequate to the work in which they are engaged. But in those north and north-western parts of India, there are no other missionaries from the American Church, and but few from the English Societies. The entire number of European missionaries is probably under a dozen, nor is there a prospect of this number being much increased. There is ample room, therefore, for the employment of many more missionaries from this country. Those upper parts of India, from Allahabad to the Indus, and from the mountains so far westward as to include the Raj-put tribes, comprise the provinces of Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi, part of Malwa, and the whole of Rajputana, the kingdom of Oude, the Protected Hill and Sikh States, and the entire kingdom of the Panjáb, including Cashmere, containing in all a population of perhaps thirty millions. And besides these, the provinces of Scinde, on the lower waters of the Indus, the countries of Beloochistan and Affghanistan, west of the Indus, and Thibet, on the north-east, can all be reached from this part of India, perhaps better than from any other quarter. In all these countries there is no mission establishment whatever.

Now although we grant the position already adverted to incidentally, that one great object of missions is to prepare the natives for becoming themselves preachers of righteousness to their countrymen, yet we cannot doubt the extreme importance of all labours that look to the conversion of adult heathens. And these must be made by foreign missionaries, if our benevolence shall reach the generation now on the stage of life. In a few years more, they will go down to the land of silence, and time will not have been afforded for

the work of training up native youths, and sending them forth on this high errand of mercy, to their fathers and older countrymen. It may justly be said, that the Christians now living must put themselves in communication with the heathens now living, and that chiefly by their direct efforts, if the latter are made to know the true God, and eternal life, which is through his son Jesus Christ our Lord. And beyond all question, the followers of Christ are responsible, and will be held to a strict account in the great day, for the fulfilment of this duty, according to the measure of their means and opportunities,

If to any it should appear a hopeless work to preach Christ, and him crucified, to adult heathens, confirmed in evil habits, and surrounded with temporal interests, altogether adverse to their believing on the Son of God, let it be remembered that there is the same encouragement now as in the first ages of the Church. A minister of the gospel has the same reasons to expect the Divine blessing on his ministrations among the Hindus, that encouraged the apostle Paul to preach in the city of Ephesus. In both cases, it is by the foolishness of preaching that God is pleased to save them that believe. In both cases, it is the power of God that must overcome the otherwise insuperable difficulties that would hinder and utterly prevent the conversion of any pagan, either in ancient or modern times. And that power shall not be withheld, when the followers of Christ sincerely seek its aid, and employ the appointed means through which that aid is given. On this principle rest the whole foundation and superstructure of Christian Missions. And it is a principle of perfectly established firmness.

In India, the way is made ready for the employment of these appointed means. That country, and its multitudes of inhabitants, are now under the control of a Protestant government; and Christian ministers, without receiving any special favour, which indeed they need not desire, are protected as citizens, and may spend their entire strength in the fulfilment of their holy vocation, no man hindering them, nor making them afraid. After learning the language, they may preach the gospel to the natives, not often in congregations statedly assembling in one place of worship, but as opportunity offers, in the midst of large crowds, or to a few villagers, gathered around the shady peepul tree; or to the solitary inquirer who comes like Nicodemus, at night, to their houses, to ask, how can these things be? or in the midst of a school-room, day after day, to a number of hopeful youth. They may translate the Sacred Scriptures, and place them in the hands of those who are able to read. They may teach those converts who possess suitable gifts, the way of God more perfectly, and then send them forth in their Lord's name. Thus is there an open door set before the Church, by the good providence of God, and the voice of providence, no less than the teaching of revelation, instructs the Church touching her duty.

Besides this outward door open, there is an interior movement of most deep interest now in progress among the Hindus, which must not be overlooked. Various influences are at work undermining the existing fabric of superstition. The administration of the government by foreigners, who, while they protect all in their common rights, bestow special favour on no exclusive class, and grant no immunity in crime, not even to a brah-

man, though shielded by all the special enactments of the Shastras, has a silent influence on the minds of the people against their religion; and if this influence be almost unseen, it is nevertheless as steady and as mighty as the flowing of the tide on the ocean. The advance of knowledge, on common subjects, is not less directly hostile to the Hindu religion. The peculiar opinion, according to which their books on most branches of knowledge are accounted sacred, has been already pointed out. And it leads to most important results. These books, at least many of them, are filled with the grossest error, not merely on religious subjects, but on topics which every well informed person would be ashamed to be ignorant of—such as the shape of the earth, the position of its mountains, rivers, &c., the cause of eclipses, the influence of the planets on human affairs, the manner of curing diseases, &c. Their belief in the most absurd notions on these subjects, is based on the same authority which has peopled their heavens with millions of gods and goddesses, and which has appointed their priests, and manifold ceremonial observances. Let them see that in the former class of things they have been altogether mistaken, and it will not be long before they discover the groundless claims of the latter. Both stand or fall together. The former are now falling. European science, and correct knowledge, are supplanting the fables of the East. Many of the more influential classes, and of those who will become influential, are now abandoning the silly legends of the Hindu Shastras, and their number is constantly increasing. And commonly, if not always, these Hindus abandon at the same time the religious faith of their country. For a while they may

comply with its outward forms, yet will they stop in the midst of their prayers, to tell you that they are merely conforming to what is customary. Indeed, to a great extent, the Hindu religion may now be characterized as a religion of usage, and not of reverence or feeling. It was never a religion of love, and therefore its hold on its votaries can be the more easily broken. Besides all this, multitudes of youth are now forming such habits of accurate mental study, of ascertaining truth by induction and severe reason, as would lead them to reject the visionary religious revelations of the Hindu sacred books, even were their instructions on profane topics less erroneous. In short, the Hindus may be regarded as now in a transition state. They are leaving the false and dangerous moorings of Hinduism, and setting out on the tide of new opinions, impelled by a self-trusting and reckless spirit, without chart or pilot—where shall their voyage end? Certain it is, that they will not continue pagans many generations longer—shall they become sincere worshippers of the true God, or madly follow the vain imaginations of the natural mind into the heartless regions of scepticism? This question can be answered satisfactorily, if the Church employ Christian agencies in a right spirit, and to a suitable extent. And it is for her encouragement to know, that all these general influences, now gradually working such mighty changes, are but doing a part of her work. They are disabusing the minds of the people of error; let the servants of the Church stand by and fill their minds with truth. Let them build up the walls of Zion among the Hindus, while the fortresses of the great adversary are falling in ruins.

There is another view of India as a missionary

field, which cannot be surveyed without inspiring the mind with hope, not unmingled with anxiety. So intimately bound together are the Hindus in their respective castes, and so terrible are the consequences of losing one's place in the sect of which he is a member, that it is not strange that so few have forsaken Hinduism; the wonder is rather that so many have become Christians. These bonds of caste will keep men from embracing a different religion as individuals, separately, but they will also lead to large masses of people making that change together. The motives which are sufficient to influence the mind of one man will, before they have led him to any final decision, have become the motives of hundreds more of the same sect; they will then forsake their old religion together, and they will strengthen each other in their new faith. Years ago reflecting observers predicted this result. And within the last two years, a most striking example of the correctness of their opinions has been witnessed in Krishnaghur, a district of Bengal, about sixty or seventy miles north of Calcutta, where large numbers of the Kurta Bhojas, one of the smaller sects, have been received into the Christian Church, under the labours of the English Episcopal Missionaries. This movement extended to thousands of that sect, while surounding sects were hardly at all impressed. Thus it probably will be throughout India. Such is our hope. Our fear is that when these movements shall take place, the Church may not be prepared, with her servants and their native colabourers, to point the minds of the inquiring multitudes to "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." What could the four missionary brethren and their two native assistants

accomplish at Futtehgurh, if the people of Furrukhabad, a city a few miles distant, of more than one hundred thousand people, should now arise *en masse*, renounce their idols, and seek a new religion? It may be said that these changes cannot be expected until the means shall have been employed to produce them, and then those means shall serve to give them a safe direction. But may there not be light enough to show them their danger, and yet not enough to point out also the way of escape? Besides, this remark at best only postpones the time of these great and general religious movements, the arrival of which every Christian should be anxious rather to hasten than retard. And moreover there are, as has been shown, causes now at work to produce such changes, though a large part of these causes are purely secular; and unless Christian efforts are combined with them, their result will prove any thing else than favourable to the religious benefit of the people.

These considerations, if we do not greatly misjudge, will be regarded by the reader as clearly showing that India is truly a most important sphere of missionary labour. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few."

I shall only add in reference to Upper India, that this important field for Christian efforts was brought to the attention of that part of the Church by which these missions are supported, at the time that she was beginning to move forward as a distinct tribe in Israel in the great missionary work. It is not presumptuous for us to believe that in this there was far more than a merely casual co-incidence—Let those, who have "understanding of

the times to know what Israel ought to do," consider to what important results this connection should lead.

The question has been asked, what kind of men are needed for missionary service in India? It is obvious that in so large a field of labour, there must be room for the employment of men of very different and unequal gifts. Among the apostles, the earliest missionaries, usefulness was not limited to the labours of the highly gifted Paul, but Thomas also, a man of far less talent and learning, has left traces of his success in his Lord's work, in places further distant from Jerusalem than Paul ever travelled.

While there is ample scope for the full employment of talents of the highest order, men of moderate abilities should not be discouraged from entering on the missionary field in India. It is highly desirable, however, that our missionaries should be talented, wise, learned, and practical men; the stronger in these respects they are, the better; if only they have such a degree of excellence in their religious character as shall guard them from self confidence and other evils, to which talented men of little piety are exposed. I would insist far more on matured and deep religious attainments than on talents and learning in a missionary. He should have such convictions of his own unworthiness, such views of his Lord's glory, and such desires for the salvation of the heathen, as would make him at once humble, zealous, and constantly patient and laborious in his sacred calling. A self-willed man ought not to be a missionary, especially if he is to be associated with others; nor should one who desires to have the preëminence. Even in

the Church at home, a man who cannot bear contradiction without impatience, but must have his own way or none, who is anxious to be known as the principal agent, and to hear his own proceedings conspicuously set forth; who can allow himself to speak harshly and contemptuously of his brethren; who has a suspicious temper, readily takes offence, and is slow to forgive; especially if he have more than common ability, or is supported by any thing peculiar in his family connections, or in his position in the community,—such a man is sure to be both the cause and the occasion of trouble and dissension, though he is here surrounded by a thousand counteracting and regulating influences. To make a minister of the gospel of such a man, is a very doubtful service to the Church of Christ; to make a missionary of such a man would be a severe trial to those who might be compelled to associate with him, and would probably contribute little to the establishment of the gospel among the heathen. I am thankful that I have never met with such a missionary, and I have drawn the sketch only to present at one view various evil traits, which should be guarded against with all care. The seeds of these evils are found in the corrupt nature of man. Religion alone can effectually restrain and correct their influence. Where missionaries are so few in number, so closely connected together, and so dependent on each other, there should be special care to exclude every thing that would hinder their happiness or their usefulness. No one should expect special deference to be paid to his views, every one should be willing to submit himself to his brethren in the Lord, and all should aim to excel in humility of mind, in the

study of whatsoever things are lovely, and in a sacred devotion to the great object of their mission. Let a sufficient number of such missionaries be employed, and let the Church support them with her gifts and her prayers, and the time shall not be long distant when the praise of the most high God shall ascend from the millions of India.

APPENDIX.

I.

ON THE CONDITION OF THE HEATHEN.

Referred to on page 40.

Many are ready to say, "God is infinitely merciful, and surely will not condemn to everlasting punishment the myriads of creatures whom he has made—especially as they are in such great ignorance concerning what he requires of them." This opinion is often maintained; and it is still more generally felt, as a vague apprehension, not clothed in words, and yet exerting a decided influence on the feelings and conduct of many who have, probably, never been at the trouble of examining its correctness.

One thing is quite obvious—if the heathen do not need the Gospel in order to their salvation, Christians may well forbear to make the sacrifices, which are essentially necessary to the spread of our religion in heathen countries. These sacrifices are not only distressingly severe in some of their forms, but they are uncalled for.—Another inference from this opinion is equally plain and far more important—if the heathen do not need the Gospel, let Christians by no means attempt to send it to them; nay more, let them order home every missionary, and if possible call back every Bible that has been put in circulation in heathen lands. Without the Gospel and the means of

grace, according to this opinion, they are safe; but with them their responsibility would be like our own, and all who reject the offers of mercy or neglect this great salvation, would go down, like the finally impenitent among ourselves to an aggravated condemnation. Let us, as compassionate men, avoid whatever would lead to this result as the greatest of all calamities to our heathen neighbours, and let us leave them in their ignorance, which, if not the means of direct happiness, is at least their security from positive suffering. Still another consequence from the opinion stated at the beginning of this paper is, that if the present generation of the heathen do not need the Gospel, no more did our own forefathers need it. They, too, were heathens, as ignorant and degraded as most heathen people of the present day. And if the former generations of the heathen were as little in need of the Gospel as those who live at the present day, then why did our Saviour come into our world and die on the cross? His salvation is not necessary to the well-being of the present race of the heathen; it was not necessary to the former generations—it might have been withheld, it was a work of supererogation! Such is the impious conclusion to which we are conducted, by easy steps, from the opinion under review.

But it will be urged, that it is on account of the death of Christ, that the heathen are not in the hopeless condition in which they are sometimes represented to be; and that in some way, to us it may be unintelligible, God, in his infinite mercy, will save them. In this modified form, the opinion is entertained by many. Christianity, if its amiable and elevating influences were diffused generally among the heathen nations, would prove a

great blessing, but without its direct instrumentality they may be partakers of the grace which Christ died to procure for the children of men.

This opinion, even in its modified form, is exposed to the entire force of the two former inferences already stated; and we believe that it is inconsistent with the clearly revealed will of God. We shall quote but one passage:

"Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" Rom. x. 13, 14.

Hearing, believing, calling upon God, are here represented as necessary alike to the Jew and the Gentile, in order to their being saved. If the apostle had been constructing an argument expressly to refute the opinion referred to above, could he have selected stronger terms?

We must form our belief concerning the condition of the heathen, as of other men, from what we know of the character, government, and will of God, and also from what we know of the character and conduct of the heathen.

Now, in examining this important subject, we admit and fully believe that God is infinite in mercy, "not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance and belief of the truth;" that the atonement of Christ is of infinite value, and therefore amply sufficient for the salvation of all the millions of our race; and that it is the pleasure of God, as certainly known from his express commandment, that the offers of salvation, and the means of grace, should be given to all men.

But whether all men, or whether any men, *without* those means of grace which have been divinely appointed, can be saved, is a question not at all determined by these great truths. We know that "the angels which kept not their first estate are reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day"—and yet God is infinite in his mercy. We know that "Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them, in like manner giving themselves over to fornication, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire"—and yet salvation by faith in the Messiah to come was the blessed portion of many in their day. There is the same difficulty precisely in reconciling their destruction with the mercy of God and with the grace of Christ, which is assumed in regard to the heathen of the present or of any other age. Indeed, if these general views of the mercy of God and of the compassion of Christ be alone appealed to, we do not see in what way the belief of the Universalists can be avoided—that all men shall be saved.

But there are other most important and most clearly revealed truths to be considered here:—All men are under the righteous government of God, and are accountable to him for their conduct; and he "will render unto every man according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad." It is preposterous to maintain that the accountability of men is taken away by their ignorance; because that ignorance itself is the result of sin which has blinded their minds; and moreover, it is a wilful ignorance, not complained of by them. The government of God cannot be set aside by the sinful ignorance of his creatures; sin cannot be admitted as an apology for itself under any government.

The authority of even human laws is not to be subverted, nor can their claims be satisfied, by the contented ignorance of those who are subject to them. This very blindness is a proof that the authority of the Divine government will be enforced, for it is partly of a judicial character. (See Rom. i. 28.)

Again: God is just no less than merciful. Mercy cannot be exercised at the expense of any other perfection of the Divine character; and the claims of justice must be satisfied either by the death of the sinner, (Rom. v. 12. Gal. iii. 10.) or by the atoning blood of Christ, in which an interest is to be obtained only by faith, (Rom. iii. 25. Gal. iii. 13.) These are truths which all Christians believe.

Once more: God is holy; and "without holiness it is impossible to see God." The pure in heart are blessed; for they, and only they, shall see God. Into "that great city, the holy Jerusalem, there shall in no wise enter any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie." "Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie."

Now let the character and conduct of the heathen nations be compared with these truths. Consider that, like all men, they are "by nature children of wrath," descendants of fallen parents; and then examine the description of heathenism which is contained in the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans—an account which is abundantly true, according to all testimony, of the heathen nations of the present day. Look at the multitude of sins against God and against man, of omission and transgression, of heart and of conduct, of which

the heathen are guilty. In the view of their depraved character and sinful conduct, if they do not obtain an interest in the blood of Christ which cleanseth from all sin, can they be suffered to go free from punishment? If they may, then all our views of the sovereignty of God, of the righteousness of his laws, of his jealous regard for the justice, purity, and truth of his throne, must undergo an entire change. If they may escape the displeasure of God and may be received into his favour when they die, not only would the Divine government and character be dishonoured, but the strange result would be that murderers, adulterers, idolaters, and criminals of every grade, would be seen, (*not* in robes of white) walking in the streets of the golden city. If they may, with all their depraved dispositions and evil habits unchanged, then would they be saved without salvation: for salvation greatly consists in making those, who are partakers of it, new creatures in Christ Jesus. And if even all this could possibly be admitted, would those poor, depraved creatures then be happy in the presence of God infinitely holy, and of the holy angels, and the spirits of the just made perfect? Heaven itself would be no heaven to them.

The conclusion which forces itself on the mind from these considerations is one of great solemnity. We are constrained to believe that the heathen are "without God and without hope in the world." There are, it is true, some alleviating circumstances which we would not willingly overlook:—they will be judged according to the degree of light which they enjoy; they will not experience those most terrible of all sufferings among the lost, punishment for rejecting the crucified Saviour, and remorse of conscience for having

known what was duty in regard to him, and yet having refused to perform it; the "servant that knew not his Lord's will, and did it not, shall be beaten with few stripes;" and they are in the hands of the Judge of all the earth who doeth right. Our minds may rest perfectly satisfied as to the equity of his dispensations towards them.

Yet these are but modifications of the view which we must take of their condition. It is still true that they must give account to God for all the deeds done in the body, whether good or bad; and that God cannot permit sin to go unpunished. We may forbear to dwell in our thoughts on the degree of positive suffering which they may have to endure; but is it not a great and most melancholy truth that they are unfit to dwell in heaven, and must be for ever prevented from enjoying its calm repose, and holy light, and heartfelt joy? that they cannot hold communion with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ, and with the Holy Spirit, and with all that is good and lovely in the universe? Is it not a fearful part of the prospect before them, that their associates and companions shall for ever be the devil and his angels, and the spirits of wicked men whose society will be scarcely less insupportable? Is it not a necessary part of their great loss and ruin as sinners, that they must be for ever abandoned to their own evil passions, corrupt propensities, depraved habits—ever restless, ever craving indulgence, ever conflicting with each other, ever unsatisfied? Without adverting at present to the thousand evils which form a part of their condition as heathen in this world, or to their want of the manifold and great blessings which crown our lives in this Christian land, is there not in the condition and prospects of

the heathen, as immortal beings, all that should awaken our deepest sympathies for their misery, and our most sincere and zealous efforts for their relief? Would that Christians, dwelling on the high places of Zion, and richly favoured with the blessings of providence and of grace, did but survey the misery of their heathen neighbours with some measure of that compassion, and of that readiness to seek their welfare, and of that willingness to make sacrifices to promote their salvation, which the Lord Jesus Christ, our great Exemplar, displayed when he looked down from heaven upon the ruins of our race, and then came down to earth to suffer, and die, and rise again, that we might live for ever!

II.

ON THE RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO EUROPEANS IN INDIA.

Referred to on page 44.

It may appear to some a matter of small moment what the position of missionaries might be towards other foreigners in India, but perhaps such persons have not duly considered the duties, which grow out of circumstances materially different from those in which they have themselves been placed. Certain it is, that the Apostles adapted their manner to the different classes of people amongst whom they fulfilled their ministry.

Viewed with reference to our future usefulness, we regarded it as kindly ordered, that we should meet with no embarrassment as missionaries, from our social position, but on the contrary, that all

our way should be marked with the favour of those who had the influence greatly to hinder or to advance our object. This, though not more than we were entitled to expect from our standing as clergymen, at home, was perhaps unusual in North India, and at any rate it was one of those things in which we thankfully acknowledge the favour of God, in prospering our way. In regard to this subject, it has seemed to me desirable, that our missionaries among the Hindus should be known, in some sense, as a separate *caste;* they are neither Churchmen nor Dissenters; they should by no means be out of the pale of society, and yet they should not be expected to comply with all its usages, as observed among Europeans in India; but if they may be regarded as a separate people, respectable for talents, well educated, intelligent, and devoted to the single object of converting the Hindus to Christ, then will they enjoy, I doubt not, the confidence and the co-operation of other foreigners in that country, to every needful extent.

It is not only in social intercourse, however, that the position of missionaries should be considered. They have duties to perform, as subjects of the government whose protection they enjoy. On this point I shall quote a part of the Instructions of the Executive Committee, addressed to the Rev. Messrs. Freeman, Scott, and Warren, in 1828, as exhibiting the principles recognized by the Board.

"You will bear in mind, dear brethren, that you go to build up a kingdom that is not of this world. With the civil government of India, and all the secular matters that may agitate any portion of its community, as missionaries of the cross, you have nothing to do. As you will receive the pro-

tection of the laws, yield to the government a cheerful and peaceful submission, and where it is required, a cordial support. It may be that in the laws and regulations of the British authorities in India, and in their administration, some things may appear strange to you, and some things objectionable and wrong. But there are several considerations worthy of regard here. First, you may not for a long time be very competent judges of these matters. The condition of the United States and that of India are at this time very different. The degree of liberty, and the laws and usages to which you have been accustomed, may be very unsuitable for India; and yet, having enjoyed, as your birthright, all the privileges of your own country, it would not be strange if you deemed them the best for every other people. Again, the legislation and the administration of the government of India are in the hands of able and enlightened men. Some of the first of British statesmen have been engaged in this service; among them are many who fear God, and who have devoted much of their time and thought, and property, to advance the best interests of the people; and you may safely leave to them what so properly belongs to them, without anxiety as to the result.—Finally, let us suppose, what is no doubt the case, that some of the laws and usages are wrong, and ought to be corrected. What other country is free from the same charge? Certainly not our own, notwithstanding the blessings and privileges we enjoy. Evils often do exist in governments, requiring both time and the exercise of great wisdom to correct, without producing greater evils. Leave all these matters, therefore, as not belonging to you; it is not to interfere with them that you are

sent to India, but to preach the gospel to the heathen there, and to persuade them to be reconciled to God. It is the earnest desire of the Board that the Presbyterian Missionaries in India may establish such a character as will ensure to them not only protection, but also the confidence and esteem of those entrusted with the government. Let all your teaching, all your intercourse with the natives, all your schools, and every thing you print, be open at all times to the inspection of the civil officers: let it be seen that you attend only to your appropriate work, and soon you will convince all that you are indeed the missionaries of the Prince of Peace. These things are not written in distrust of you, or of the brethren in India, nor with any reference to the past history of that mission—which, we are happy to acknowledge, has received the full protection, and shared largely in the kind and generous feelings of the Europeans who administer the authority of that country; but we have noticed them as being of themselves important; and that there may be no mistake as to the principles by which we are governed."

III.

REASONS FOR EXPECTING SUCCESS IN THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Many persons consider the object of the missionary enterprise impracticable. They point to the nature of the end proposed, to change the religion of nations—giving to them the strict doctrines and precepts of the Bible, for a lax ritual that falls in with the course of human nature; a foreign, modern, unknown system for the religion of their

ancestors, venerable for it associations not less than for its antiquity, familiar in its rites and duties, and inseparably connected with the employments, interests, usages, language, and the almost entire life of its votaries. They then refer to the feeble means employed to accomplish so great a change:—what can a few hundred foreigners effect among so many millions, differing from themselves in their language, dress, manners, and mode of life; and regarded as the advocates of a strange and unacceptable religion? What, they will ask, could fifteen Persians or Hindus, however enlightened and zealous, do towards changing the religion of the fifteen millions of our American people? They will further appeal to the sacrifices which this cause requires; and they urge that it is too much to expect men and women to leave their friends for ever; or if young and ardent minds can consent to make such a sacrifice, yet surely their parents know too well what is involved in such an undertaking to give it their approval; or if those who are less favoured as to wealth and family standing may be induced to go as missionaries, yet certainly the higher classes, (as some of these objectors proudly consider themselves,) can never yield to such extravagant enthusiasm; or if some must go, it is most unreasonable to ask that all should feel that concern on the subject which is so often enforced as the duty of Christians. And they will then appeal to the results, and ask with an air of triumph—What has been done? Where are the converts? What nation has given up its gods? The question is thus, in many forms and with painful impressiveness, forced on the attention of the friend of missions—Is this a practicable enterprise? Is it a work which can be done? or

is this object too great and too good to be achieved? are these efforts misplaced? these sacrifices unavailing? these labours unsuccessful? Let us "consider this matter."

What, then, is the missionary enterprise? What does it propose to do, and in what way or by what means? Its object is to make known to all men the grace of God, as revealed through Jesus Christ in his Gospel. It regards all men as sinners, and teaches them the only way in which forgiveness can be obtained, and reconciliation with God effected, and preparation for the enjoyment of his presence secured. It proposes simply to bring before the minds of men, in all countries, the true knowledge of these vitally important subjects. Whether they will receive the truth, and believe and be saved, is to be decided by themselves. The Church is responsible only for the sufficient, immediate, and faithful making known of these great things.

In order to make them known, some Christians must go and live among the heathen, acquire their language, and instruct them, by precept and example, in the great truths of the Christian faith. It does not appear to be practicable, nor would it probably be the best mode, if it were, to send from the church a sufficient number of missionaries to do all this work themselves,—to send, for example, thirty thousand missionaries to India, so that there might be one minister to every five thousand people;—but it is perfectly practicable to send and to support a number sufficiently large to establish, superintend, and carry forward such efforts as shall secure the object in view in another and better way. If the army cannot be sent with all its rank and file, the officers can go, and enlist recruits,

and organize a force in the midst of the heathen, which shall be more effective than all the forces that could be sent from Christendom. Thus the sacred Scriptures can be translated, Schools formed, the Gospel published, the natives instructed,—so that they may become instructers of their countrymen. All this can be done; all this is now doing; all this is practicable.

It will now be easy to say, why we believe in the certain success of this enterprise.

1. The means are adapted to the end in view. It is true in the kingdom of grace, as in the ordinary affairs of nature, that an inseparable connection exists, in general, between the employment of suitable means and the obtaining of the end for which they are employed—"He that plougheth should plough in hope, and he that thresheth in hope shall be *partaker of* his hope." So in the things of religion; where the Gospel is faithfully preached to men, and where the blessing of God is sought by fervent prayer, it always proves to be "the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation." The provisions of the Gospel are adapted to the character and wants of the heathen. The word of God can remove their ignorance, by making known to them the character of the one living and true God, whom they ought to worship instead of their multitude of vain idols; and the grace of God can impart peace to their consciences, through the atonement and intercession of Christ, instead of their painful self-inflictions, or wearisome pilgrimages, or vain repetitions of the names of gods that have no existence. And so of all other things,—not an evil exists among the heathen nations which the Gospel is not precisely adapted to remove. Let this Gospel, therefore, be

made known to the heathen, let the blessing of God be sought by the importunate prayers of his people, and we have the same warrant to expect the desired results, which the husbandman has to look for the fruits of his labour in the time of harvest.

2. Success has already attended the employment of these means. It is true that the full measure of success has not hitherto been enjoyed; in some countries little direct good appears as yet to have been accomplished, and in most heathen nations the results have not assumed that prominent character, which would command acknowledgment from all observers. It is true however, that from some heathen nations thousands have been gathered into the visible church of Christ; and in nearly or quite all cases of missionary effort among the heathen, in the midst of much that calls for the exercise of faith and patience, there is much also that is encouraging to Christian hope. The eye of the skeptic or of the mere worldly man may see nothing but what meets with contempt, or at least is regarded as a decided failure; but the Christian observer, looking more closely, and considering the progress of effort from the beginning, will be grateful for the foundation laid, and the footing gained, for the Holy Scriptures translated, for prejudices removed, for light diffused abroad, for inquiries that have issued in conviction, and convictions that have resulted in hopeful conversion to God. These results do indeed belong to the day of small things, yet are they the earnest of that full measure of success which shall before long be seen of all men. If one instance has occurred in which, through the efforts employed by the Church, the true conversion of an idolater has been effected,

we may dismiss all our fears as to what shall be the final result of these efforts. Because, not to insist that such an instance must be regarded as the seal of God's favour and the evidence of his blessing, we must recollect that the *first* cases of conversion are ever attended with far greater difficulties than subsequent ones. The means employed are then imperfect and feeble; heathen prejudices and associations are then in their strength; the sacrifices to be made are then often most severe. But conversion once effected, the convert becomes a witness to the power of the grace of God, and at the same time he is himself a missionary. The influence of his exertions is added to that of those already in operation, successive converts, in numbers ever enlarging, join the army of the Prince of Peace, and the cause of the Redeemer moves forward with continually increasing speed and strengthening force.

3. The dispensations of Providence in our times are generally favourable to this enterprise. This is too large a subject to present fully. If, however, our readers will recollect what was the condition of most heathen countries fifty years ago, and what was the interest taken in the salvation of the heathen at that period, in connection with the limited facilities then enjoyed for spreading abroad the Gospel, they will see the bearing of this remark. How many millions of men have become fully accessible, in these latter days, to the efforts of the Church for their conversion! What extensive and complete advantages are now enjoyed for "running to and fro," and for increasing knowledge! If some countries are still closed against the living teacher, let it be remembered that a far larger part of the heathen world is now open for the most

free employment of Christain agency, than the Church has yet cultivated; and if discouraging events have been witnessed in the progress of missionary undertakings, let it be considered that the agents employed in these works are men who need to be sanctified, to have their faith tried and strengthened, and their zeal chastened and rendered more steady. The general course of events among the nations of the earth, it may be confidently affirmed, has been such as to show the hand of God upon this enterprise for good.

4. The Word of God authorizes our largest hopes of success. No reader of the Sacred Volume can doubt that there are numerous prophecies which foreshow the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, and no student of history will contend that these prophecies have as yet been fulfilled. The gospel shall be preached to every creature. The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. The nations shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. The Lord shall utterly abolish the idols. The heathen shall be given to Messiah for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. And though blindness in part is happened unto Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, yet all Israel shall be saved. These, and many similar passages of Sacred Scripture, assure us of a coming time, when ignorance, and vice, and crime shall not prevail amongst the nations; alas, that these evils should in all ages have held an unbroken sway over nearly all people, and that even now they are so generally

prevalent! But a brighter day shall shine on the earth. The wickedness and the wars of men shall give place to peace, and truth, and purity, and the thousand social and civil advantages which flow from the gospel. The knowledge, institutions, influences and hopes of the religion of Christ shall pervade every dark corner of the earth, meliorating the temporal condition of men, and placing within their reach the blessed portion of the people of God, the enjoyment of his favour through everlasting ages. And a great multitude, which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, shall stand before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and shall cry with a loud voice, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

The work of Christian missions is directly connected with all these prophecies, and tends certainly to bring to pass these blessed results. It is only through the use of the divinely appointed means of grace that we are authorized to expect the fulfilment of these prophecies. It is only by the preaching of the gospel that these inestimable blessings shall be conferred on our fallen race. And it is the object, the characteristic feature, of the missionary enterprise to establish these means of grace in the midst of every heathen people. Hence missionaries are sent forth, the Bible is printed and circulated, and schools are formed to bring the minds of the youth more fully under Christian influence and instruction; and as the result of all, through the blessing of God upon these means of his own appointment, it is confidently expected that the minds of multitudes of the hea-

then shall be enlightened, and they shall turn to the hope of Israel for salvation. Christian institutions will then be established and supported by themselves. Pastors and teachers shall be trained up among themselves; they will no longer need support from foreign countries, but the gospel, once planted, shall be watered from on high, and yield the fruits of eternal life through all future ages.

This work of Christian benevolence shall be successful, therefore, because it is the work of God. His strength and grace shall first dispose the followers of Christ to preach the gospel to every creature, and then his promise shall be fulfilled that "as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth, it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." And then shall all the ends of the earth see the salvation of God.

This review of the grounds for expecting success to attend the work of Christian missions, should admonish those who may have opposed this sacred work, to take heed lest they be found opposing Him, against whom all opposition is vain and shall be turned to confusion. It should rebuke, also, the indolence of many professed followers of Christ. If they share not in their Master's toils and trials, can they expect to share in his rewards and triumphs? They may stand aloof, but this cause shall move steadily onward. Let, then, the humble and faithful Christian rejoice in

the assurance of his Lord's approval while he is engaged in this work of mercy, and in the certain fulfilment of all that he has been taught to expect by the spirit of prophecy. His "labour shall not be in vain in the Lord."

THE END.